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Conflict Management, Sustainable Peace and Development: The Mbale 1995/96 Conflict (Uganda)

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A thesis submitted to the University of Warwick in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Centre for the Study of Women and Gender
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Declaration

I, Zaitun Nsubuga Kituyi, certify that this thesis: '*Conflict Management, Sustainable Peace and Development: The Mbale 1995/96 Conflict (Uganda)*' is based on an original empirical study that has never been submitted for any award before. All materials and manuscripts from other authors used therein have been fully acknowledged.

Signed

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While we all share the credit of this work, any blame is solely mine to bear as the points of view adopted are mine, and to this, I take full responsibility for any errors and omissions that may be found therein.

Glossary

Bakkulo are a people or clan for whom Bukkulo is in place.

Bamasaba /Bagisu (plural) for people from Bugisu.

Buganda is a region in Uganda occupied mainly by the Baganda people.

Bugisu is geographical area encompassing Mbale and Sironko district.

Bukkulo is a joking mediation and arbitration relationship among Bagisu clans.

Imbalu is an obligatory circumcision ritual (ceremonial period) among the Bagisu, whereby boys are initiated into manhood.

Kimilembe comes from milembe or peace and literary means peaceful or secure or era.

LC; Local Council (I, II, III, IV, V; represents a village up to the district level leadership).

Lugisu / Lumasaba is a language of the Bagisu people.

Lukosi means honour.

Mukkulo is (singular) person from Bakkulo.

Mulembe formal greeting in the area which literally means peace. It may also mean era when ku is affixed at the beginning depending on the context used.

Mumasaba/Mugisu (singular) for person from Bugisu or Masaba land [Mbale]

Shikuka/Kiguga is a clan or lineage in Bugisu (pronounced differently according to the dialect used).

Umundu /Umuntu means person but the pronunciation changes with the dialect of a particular area, as seen above.

Abstract

This thesis has eight chapters, each organised according to interwoven themes that permit easy linkages between the salient questions of the study. The thesis utilises a multi-disciplinary approach in the analysis of deprivation occasioned by scarcity. The concept of masculinity is also crucial for understanding the issues related to violence escalation, conflict management and peace in Mbale, Uganda. Employing qualitative methodologies, the study examines the way that violence in Mbale has been understood by the survivors, perpetrators, witnesses and state officials. The study analyses the experiences of those involved in these violent conflict situations and seeks to understand the way in which scarce resources and violent masculinity among the Bagisu people impact upon the dynamics of conflict, particularly in terms of violence escalation, conflict management and peace development in the area. The study also seeks to understand why the various processes and structures of government, civil society and traditional authority failed to prevent widespread violence. Subsequently, I examine the questions of effective conflict management, both as a deterrent to violence and as a means of maintaining the peace necessary for sustainable development. I examine the efficacy of alternative policies that might promote a wider, more inclusive and more gender sensitive strategy towards conflict management that might fully tap into the existing and powerful resources within the socio-economic and political fabric for promoting sustainable peace and development.

Whilst many commentators would posit witchcraft as a major factor behind the violence, others would stress the importance of socio-economic deprivation, scarcity and violent masculinity as factors contributing to the dynamics of the Mbale violence and its management. The thesis concurs with the latter assessment, exposing violent masculinity and scarcity as powerful influences for the dynamics and management of conflict and violence in Mbale. Violent masculinity inculcates a culture of violent conflict, whilst economic scarcity and deprivation acted as social catalysts for its explosive manifestation.

Whilst the violent struggle witnessed in Mbale officially came to an end in 1996, the road to peace was still long and far from easy, having major repercussions, not only for the socio-economic and political developments of the area, but also for the East African region as a whole. A decade on and there have been no significant initiatives to secure 'peace', neither from community leaders nor from responsible government departments, which thereby poses serious questions concerning the sustainability of peace and development, given their inextricable fate. Peace is a vital component to a country's further development: sustainable development requires a peaceful environment. Although this study recognises the importance of formal structures for peace keeping and its maintenance, it also recognises that where such institutionalised structures are not fully developed, as in the case of Mbale, then alternative initiatives tapping into existing grass-root traditions must be employed as supplemental capacities for bringing about and maintaining lasting peace and sustainable development.

The Mbale Violent Conflict

Between July 1995 and February 1996, injuries and scuffles subsequent to allegations of witchcraft occurred over an area from Bukikoso village in Bufumbo sub-county, of Bungokho County in the district of Mbale. Within six months, however, such incidents had escalated in the nature of their violence, engulfing other parts of the district. Many people 'identified' as witches during this time were massacred in broad daylight. The perpetrators of such violence were mainly unemployed male youths, who often sang and rejoiced as they led their mainly elderly male victims towards their brutal death. In Manjiya County, for example, 60 people were tortured and hacked to death by relatives and neighbours with whom they had lived side by side for decades.

This violence has had long lasting consequences on the survivors and witnesses. Wounds have not fully healed and the psychological trauma is evident, remaining largely un-addressed some ten years hence. There is continued blame and counter blame regarding victimisation. Much property was either destroyed or looted during the course of the violence, and many people became displaced. Both internal and external displacement meant that, by the time of the research, some of these displaced people had not returned to their villages. In response to the violence, more than 50 suspected perpetrators were arrested, with eight people later being convicted in courts of law. These latter are serving various sentences, with one having reportedly died in custody since then. Other suspects are still on the run and are said to be hiding in different parts of the country and in neighbouring Kenya. The social divisions created by the conflict are still highly visible despite the general desire for the restoration of



Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

1.1:1. Introduction to chapter one

In this introductory chapter, I situate the Mbale conflict of 1995-6, which forms the subject of this thesis, within an overview of the politics of violence and development in Uganda in recent times. This thesis seeks to establish the relationship between conflict management, sustainable peace and development. While the Mbale conflict was a very specific intra-communal conflict that erupted in Mbale in 1995 [triggered, allegedly, as a witchcraft hunt], it is important to locate this particular conflict within the ambit of an overarching state that has been torn apart by dissension and violence. The core of this thesis examines the relationship between the experience of economic scarcity, the fear of unfulfilled masculinity and the eruption of violence. It is thus located within an overarching milieu that has experienced state failure and economic inadequacies as factors that have themselves exacerbated and resurrected violent socialisation and unresolved cultural prejudices, making conflict management and peace building extremely problematic and complex. This study will therefore concentrate on the complex process whereby a group of people became identified as suspected witches by their community over a relatively short span of time, and the difficulties entailed in differentially categorising victims from perpetrators through utilising pure gender or power distinctions. I have thus situated the Mbale violence within an overarching structural violence of life, whereby scarcity of resources, inequalities of life chances and a violent masculinity embedded in the culture of strong and autonomous manhood, especially as promoted by the culture of circumcision, led to 'witches' being targeted as the harbingers of ill-fortune. Further, I look at how all these forces together create complexities for conflict management and for the maintenance of a sustainable peace.

1.1: 2 Background to the Study

Since the 1980s, the Ugandan government has embarked on an enthusiastic developmental policy that is underpinned by the concept of structural adjustment: a radical restructuring and pruning of welfare policies, with an avowed commitment to the liberalisation of the economy and towards cutbacks in social provision. Uganda's attitude and efforts have been much lauded in the international arena, particularly by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, who view it as a '*success story*' of liberalisation in Africa. 'Uganda (has) remained the darling of the Western Powers, drawing (more than) half its revenue from external aid. The World Bank continued to call Uganda Africa's most consistently good performer. The immediate economic outlook was less favourable, however' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2005). Evidence shows that since the mid 1970s, Uganda, termed the 'Pearl of Africa,' has been plagued by severe political and social turmoil, no doubt informed by an increased population, reduced agricultural output, unemployment and a general deterioration in the welfare of its people (Goldman and Heldenbrand, 1999). The inherent contradictions, of Uganda's reliance on international funding agencies coupled with the attendant curtailing of its autonomy viz. the necessity for its solving its political crises- both internally and externally- has taken a terrible toll on the lives of Ugandan citizens. Okwalinga (Metro, Wed, December 8th 2004) observed that 'life in Uganda for most people is worse than ever before, despite Western opinion that the present government is the best. The reason for the suffering is not the war in the east and north but that, since the current government came to power, it has borrowed the most and squandered the most'. Okwalinga advocates a strategy tailored towards a reduction in bureaucracy, together with grass-root empowerment and involvement in the process of poverty eradication which, together, would facilitate the achievement of

social justice. Makara attributed the achievements of Uganda to external donor perception rather than to internal realities and called for radical reforms in the state structures for policy initiatives on sustainable development (Makara, 2000).

Mayanja (2003) reported, in Agence France Press, that Uganda has been accused of destabilising neighbouring countries, which resulted in fierce criticism by human rights organisations. It is also significant that the IMF recently regarded the country as one of the most corrupt countries, arguing that ‘there is a crucial need to improve governance and reduce corruption... [and any] progress in addressing governance issues has been slow’ (IMF, July, 2005). The IMF has also emphasised that in Uganda, ‘important prerequisites for a successful growth strategy are peace in the north and progress in eliminating corruption’ (IMF, Feb. 2005); peace and growth are issues crucial to this study. This close link, between better practices of governance, the achievement of peace, and economic growth, are thus questions that are beginning to be of concern even to the funders of Uganda’s development strategies.

While the critics of economic policies and development recognise the consequences of war and violence in relation to the suffering of the majority of the people in Uganda, they tend to underestimate its contribution to Uganda’s present sorry state. Instead, such critics tend to focus on the misuse of borrowed resources as a major cause of under development in the country. I argue in this thesis that the experiences of a significant majority of the population is that of economic scarcity due to declining productivity, coupled with inadequate state provisions for the social infrastructure and services. The experiences of scarcity thus work to undermine social norms of peaceful co-existence for different welfare social categories in a cultural

setting that promises economic success for an autonomous manhood. The resulting violence highlights the problem of the under-the-surface stress that individuals experience due to scarcity, which is contradictory to promises of abundance and the implicit assumptions of autonomy provided for in the culture of circumcision among the Bagisu (see Heald 1998, 1999), the latter tending to filter the experience of scarcity and deprivation. The Gishu culture encourages and promotes the violent masculinity prevalent amongst the youth, who, after undergoing the circumcision rituals, officially become men. The initiation rituals involve briefing young men on their responsibilities and rights as men in the community. Only after initiation are young men allocated their share of resources that permit a new and independent life as men [bassani] and heads of family. This manhood is expressed through brevity, independence and the autonomous ownership of resources such as land, which are a privilege of men of age; the circumcised.

Such is the background therefore, within which those who appeared to have escaped chronic poverty were often branded as witches and victimised as responsible for the circumstances experienced by the majority of the people in the community who were vulnerable in many ways. Unlike the western conception of witches as women, in Bagisu, witches can either be men or women. Hence, gender is not always the most salient factor for accusations of witchcraft in Mbale. In addition, our study contradicts Heald's assertion that the normal practice is such that it is bachelors and the elderly among the Bagisu who attract accusations of violence associated with witchcraft due to their economic vulnerability (Heald, 1999). However, Heald's belief that witches among the Gishu people are the old dependents in the community cannot be dismissed on face value. Instead, it highlights the connections between violent masculinity and

its reactive response to situations of scarcity in communities. In their analysis of witchcraft related violence among the Sukuma, Green and Mesaki noted that the 'violence of witchcraft is met with explicit violence commonly directly against those who are elderly, female, and vulnerable, who are most likely to be accused. Expulsion and murder are not uncommon' (Green and Mesaki, 2005: 374). What is rather unique in the case of the 1995-96 violence is that the targets were the better off in the community (mainly men), who were thought to be using witchcraft to improve their position amidst widespread scarcity in the community. This is contrary to the usual suspects in the area, namely the elderly and vulnerable of either gender. The individuals most affected by scarcity (the illiterate, unemployed youth who have less access to resources and who are consequently more susceptible to prevalent disease) were at the forefront of the vindictive actions. Ultimately, such endemic violence and conflict occasioned by scarcity aggravates further deprivation, and precipitates other forms of violence: violence begets violence. Scarcity has also undermined those institutional structures for controlling violent conflicts and responding to crises. This has created conditions detrimental to overall development both in the long and the short-term.

Uganda has experienced different types of violence since her independence from Britain: these include external aggression, civil rebellion, tribal wars, and inter-community violence. The unconstitutional means through which political power has been seized by unelected groups has been a major theme throughout Uganda's political history. This has greatly affected the operations of and respect for the rule of law in the country. It is small wonder that situations of violence rapidly escalate in different locations with little fear of the consequences, as indeed was the case for

Mbale in 1995. The 1960s, for example, witnessed a constitutional crisis, with the abrogation of the constitution in 1966 as Obote took over power from President Mutesa. In 1971, Obote's principal army General, Idi Amin Dada overthrew Obote's government in a blood-less coup and ruled by military decree for eight years. The Amin years were some of the most brutal and lawless. In 1978, Uganda was invaded by Tanzania together with the Uganda National Liberation Army, leading to the overthrow of Idi Amin Dada in 1979. The 1980s saw General Tito Okello Lutwa overthrowing the elected leadership of Obote II in 1985, paving the way for the National Resistance Army led by Yoweri Museveni. The bush war led by the National Resistance Army culminated in Museveni taking over power in a coup d'état in January 1986.

Under Museveni's reign, there has been a continuous civil rebellion in the North, North East and West under the tutelage of the Lord's Resistance Army led by Joseph Kony and the ADF [Allied Democratic Front]. Referring to the situation in Northern Uganda, where more than 75% of the children were born in conditions of tyranny and helplessness, Alerotek argues that a society characterised by trauma and emotional impairedness has many hurdles to overcome: 'when the war is over, will the community have peace (especially where) from birth gunshots, ignorance, abject poverty, conflict, bitterness and hatred is all they have learnt' (Alerotek, 2004). The mutilation and summary execution of non-combatants, the abduction of children and adults for use as foot soldiers, sex slaves and porters (by the LRA), the rounding up of civilians in camps by the state, whereby 1,200,000 people are said to have been taken by the end of 2003, (Acker, 2004) is a terrible and terrifying state of life in this part of Uganda.

In addition, Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit Front, active between 1987 and 1988, the Allied Democratic Front in the West and the Redemption Peoples' Army, have all been involved in both targeting and harnessing the civilian population in violent activities. The 1990s and 2000s have also seen the country involved in cross boarder conflicts and wars; notably the Rwanda, the Congo and Sudan conflict and crises. Uganda has thus experienced and suffered the consequences of conflicts longer and possibly to a greater extent than all of her neighbours in the East African region and the great lakes region, excepting Rwanda, which suffered a short but relentless ethnic cleansing (Acker, 2004; Mamdani 2001; Waller, 1997; Prunier 1995; Mugaju, 1996; Kabwegyere, 1995).

As violence has become more commonplace in Uganda, the Mbale conflict did not arouse a lot of interest. The media reportage gave the cause of the violence as being triggered off by a witch-hunt. Consequently, the violence in Mbale has been inadequately studied, dismissed rather as an eccentric and cultural phenomenon attributable to the customs of the Bagisu peoples. And this despite the social, political and economic costs to the community, within and without the immediate vicinity, and the horrifying experiences of the witnesses and survivors of the torture and brutal killings that occurred between August 1995 and February 1996. Many who have managed to escape from this troubled region have sought refuge in other parts of the country and beyond.

My study thus looks specifically at this intra communal violence in Mbale. The thesis seeks to establish the relationship between experiences of economic scarcity,

masculinity and violence, and to ascertain how this impinges upon conflict management and sustainable peace for development. This study thus opens a new domain in the sphere of conflict management by studying an intra-communal situation where witch-hunting is part of the equation, whilst acknowledging the nature of conflict situations as highly inter related at all levels in society (Galtung, 1996; Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999). This choice of an intra communal situation does not therefore render other violent conflict situations in Uganda less significant in anyway, but instead provides a basis upon which important inter connections can be established in the search for a durable peace and sustainable development.

Uganda's national objective, as enshrined in the constitution, is very clear on issues of peace and stability, and acknowledges that peace is a prerequisite to economic development. It commits the State to do everything possible to promote a culture of cooperation, understanding, appreciation, tolerance and respect for diversity (Uganda Constitution, 1995: Article 1:I-V). The Constitution also assures protection for the right to life of all citizens (except in the case of execution of a sentenced person by the courts of law; by the state). These constitutional principles have been flouted time and again by the governments of the day, and the various armed fronts. This is particularly true for the most remote and hard to reach areas where the presence of justice and law and order structures is minimal. This has, in turn, led to many uncatered for populations turning to informal and sometimes irrational means of justice, with a total disregard for state structures and authority. This brings out the relationship between the problem of resource scarcity, accessibility to the rule of law, violence eruption and management as manifested in the Mbale situation. There is

thus an urgent need for the Constitution to be protected, and for human rights to be guaranteed, thereby providing a conducive environment for grass root participation in conflict management and peace building. Peace and development are highly inter-dependent. Development addresses the problems of scarcity, and peace on the other hand is vital if any development is to be realised.

The Mbale conflict has had serious consequences, presently all too evident, and it is clear that life in those areas that suffered the effects of violence will never be the same again. According to local sources, about 60 people are believed to have lost their lives in Manjiya County alone, where more than 50 people were arrested and 12 persons were committed to court for violence and homicide related offences. Only eight people were convicted and are serving different sentences ranging from life imprisonment to the death penalty, for offences of manslaughter and murder respectively. In Bungokho, unlike Manjiya, those who were arrested were suspected witches, who had been kept by the local community and leadership for interrogation, until the Police, acting on a tip off by journalists regarding the impending danger of physical injury to the suspects as a result of the growing fury from the people in the area, intervened.

The only way the police could rescue those suspected of witchcraft from mob rule was to have them arrested and kept in custody until the situation calmed down in the area: two suspected witches died during the scuffle between the Police and the crowd that had gathered at Bufumbo Sub-County Headquarters. When the Police released those suspected of witchcraft without charge (since there was a lack of evidence against them), the people of Manjiya took the law into their own hands, allegedly

because they felt that the law did not adequately deal with *witches*. The [Ugandan] Law of Witchcraft (1957; revised in 2000) is an antiquated one, inherited from the colonial period. It recognises ‘witchcraft’ as a criminal offence, one that is of course highly difficult to ‘prove’ in a court of law.

In Bulucheke (now Bulucheke and Bubiita sub-counties), 43 people were arrested according to Mulinde-Musoke and Malime wa Gamusi, (1996), and more than 60 were arrested in Bufumbo and Bukonde on two different occasions. In Bufumbo and Bukonde, two people lost their lives in the violence. On average, 30 families are said to have migrated to Kenya and Buganda area in Central Uganda as consequence of the violence, and these include both suspected perpetrators who escaped justice, and victims of the violence who sought safety away from their homes. This data varies from source to source, an anomaly complicated by the lack of any official (written) records kept by either the local or district leadership relating to this particular violence, excepting journalistic articles in the media. The Judiciary held some individual files (mostly relating to Bungokho cases) but these do not provide much detail other than of the Court proceedings, whilst the records kept at the Mbale Central Police Station were summaries of those arrested and committed to courts of law due to homicide related offences (see appendix 2 for details). There were no specific records related to the ‘witch-hunt’ massacres of 1995-96.

1.1:3 The Socioeconomic and Political Profile of Mbale

Mbale District was until 1980s known as Bugisu, and comprised the current Kapchorwa, Sironko and Mbale districts named after their respective administrative towns. The majority of the inhabitants of these districts, with the exception of Kapchorwa (inhabited mainly by the Kelengin), are Bagisu who are also referred to as

Bamasaba. Mbale district is located in the eastern part of Uganda bordering the western Republic of Kenya in the East, Tororo District in the South, Pallisa in the West, Kumi in the North West and Sironko in the North. Mbale is generally a highland terrain and the land holdings are highly fragmented, more so for the counties along the slopes of Mt Elgon. The district has a total land area of 1,429.60 sq. km.

According to the Mbale District Planning unit (2003), Mbale District has a rich vegetation ranging from tropical savannah to Alpine vegetation as one moves from the plains to the summit, with temperatures ranging between 15–28 degrees centigrade over the year. The District is divided into four Counties of Bubulo, Bungokho, Manjiya and Mbale Municipality. The authority of the district and counties is shared between chiefs who are public servants, Local Council Leaders (LCs) who are elected by their constituency and Movement Leaders who are nominated by the ruling Movement System of Government.

Mt Elgon, the glory of the district and of the country at large, standing at 4,322m with magnificent hot springs and crater lakes, deep valleys, ridges and slopes is a spectacle for all who visit the area, as well as a source of livelihood for the inhabitants. Because of land scarcity, some people have been known to seek refuge in the Mt Elgon forest area, which has recently been gazetted as a national park. District authorities estimate that since 1993 over 3,553 persons, (1,572 men and 1,981 women) have been evicted from Mt Elgon National Park by the Uganda Wildlife Authority (Mbale District Council Records [according to Clerk to council]). This number excludes those who were evicted between 1991-1993. The land evictions in this area have resulted in some people being made landless and a severe and acute shortage of

resources for those who were dependent on these areas; as common land on which to graze their livestock, as well as for those who relied on it for fodder, both animal and human. This common forest land also provided a source of income, with people selling produce such as bamboo, mushrooms, herbs, honey, vegetables, matooke and firewood at the market. The people of Mbale depend on land for their livelihood, despite the reality of land scarcity and land fragmentation for (See pictures in appendix III). And since most people depend solely on the land, land scarcity is a general resource scarcity for the area.

Socially, Mbale is the most densely populated district in Uganda, with an overall land density of 284 persons per sq. km. About 92% of the population is rural based and relies on peasant agriculture as the main economic activity. This area depends on green banana plantains (commonly referred to as matooke) as a main food crop. The people also grow maize, potatoes, cocoa, yams, pumpkins, simsim, peas, cassava, sugarcane, carrots, onions, eggplants, cabbages, groundnuts, beans, millet, and sorghum for food and market. Coffee and cotton are mainly grown for the market. They keep cattle, goats, sheep and poultry on an intensive scale, both for subsistence and for the market (Gakwandi, 1999; National Curriculum Development Centre, 1998; Mbale District Planning Unit, 2003).

The socio-economic situation of the district is characterised by immeasurable poverty, and survival in rural areas is tough. For some, 'witches' were thought to be responsible for this miserable state. There was thus a general tendency to suspect others, not necessarily because they were rich, but because they appeared to be more fortunate than others. These '*witches*' were blamed for causing social evils such as unexplained deaths, poor agricultural yields, and unemployment. The infant mortality

rate in Mbale is high (95:1,000); many families go without proper meals (harvests have deteriorated due to scarcity and the poor fertility of the land) and disease is a major problem, especially for women who tend to spend long periods in hospitals. The high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, the acute malaria rates effected by environmental changes, and a deteriorating health service delivery, partly attributable to the cost sharing strategies of health units in the area, means that unexplained death is a common phenomenon. My experience in the district was that households were earning about £1.00 a week from agricultural sales. This was mainly earmarked for family upkeep, given the stark situation in which 60 per cent of the households studied were having one meal a day if they were lucky, irrespective of the age of the family members. There is thus a general feeling of hopelessness, envy, revenge and jealousy towards those who are better off, as well as the palpable fear that the lucky ones might be responsible for the state of deprivation faced by villagers generally.

This seems to contradict the official view that Mbale is one of the richest districts in the country, and there is no doubt that if the nationwide growth figures of 6% annually are actually true, then some sectors are missing out on the overall national development. The subsistence economy of Mbale is being affected by land scarcity, which in 1995 was a key catalyst for the escalation of violence. Despite this, families I interacted with were dependent on the market for their livelihood; a new trend in these rural communities. Dependency on the market for survival necessitates its role as a steady income source. This is often hard to secure, given the limited resource base and low investment levels in Mbale.

A study of the area in 1998 is important for showing the trends that preceded the violence era, traces of which remain with us today. Despite 92% of the population being rural based and dependent on agriculture, Goldman and Heldenbrand, (1998) observed that for at least two or three decades, no aspect of agricultural production had kept pace with population growth. Their greatest dread was over the land scarcity problem because of their estimate that more than 45% of people rented or borrowed land for farming. Fewer than 20% of the people are thought to own livestock, a factor attributable to land scarcity, which leads to livestock constraint. The fallow period for land was very short or non-existent, and soil nutrients were heavily depleted. 'Soil fertility in the region has declined and is likely to continue to do so' (ibid). The agricultural yields were low and sharply declining. And availability and accessibility to modern techniques that would restore soil fertility was a major problem for most people in the district.

Most people have to buy food to supplement their own output. 'Virtually all households also sell agricultural produce to obtain cash for basic needs and children's education, even when they don't produce enough food to last until the next harvest' (ibid). And most people here (in Mbale) rely on casual labour to earn extra income, which on average brings in approximately Uganda Shs 600 per day (five to six hours of manual labour) equivalent to about £0.30. The Gishu culture celebrates male autonomy and the ability of men to protect their families from any form of threat, including hunger and deprivation. This situation presents a challenge to changing gender relations- especially where women feed families- that runs counter to the socialised masculinity of Mbale. The latter provides a fertile ground for redundancy, feelings of inadequacy and young men becoming prone to violent tendencies.

On landholdings, Goldman and Heldenbrand (ibid) said:

‘Elderly men and women both tend to have very small landholdings, mainly due to the passing of land to their children and the limited labour resources they have available. Three of the single men in the sample are over 50, and two of these have only a quarter acre. Similarly, two of the 11 single women have only a quarter acre of land, and another five have (an) half acre. In all of these cases, farmers are likely to rent land from others when they have available funds. Almost half of the sample borrow or rent land to plant in addition to the plots they own. Single women are the least likely to do so, while single or married men are most likely to rent or borrow land’.

Land in Mbale is thus highly fragmented, scarce, over exploited and increasingly deteriorating in nutrients (ibid, Heald, 1998, 1999). The backbone of the district economy according to the Mbale district planning unit report of 2003, depends heavily on agriculture which constitutes 82.4% of all economic activities, despite land scarcity and fragmentation. This is followed by trade, which accounts for 6% of income. Property income was reported to constitute 5.4% of income and loan applicants 5%. Other sources included the processing industry, construction, mining, and fishing.

While the District has a high tourism potential in terms of climate, scenery and its location on the Great North Road from South Africa to Egypt, this is not fully harnessed due to many constraints including general underdevelopment, insecurity and violence within and in the neighbouring districts of the north, and north east of the country. A considerable proportion of residents of Mbale Municipal Council for example are the internally displaced persons from the war torn areas of North of Uganda, whose socio-economic hardships and misery is daily evident on the streets of the town as they scratch for a living amidst scarcity.

The family is the basic social structure among the Bagisu and is still highly extended, more so in rural areas. Most households in this area are headed by men; those few headed by women are mainly widowed or separated, and these are the most vulnerable. My experience in the area shows that women were generally contributing more to family welfare and well being in this community despite their limited access and ownership to productive resources; irrespective of whether they are household heads or not. This is a new trend in an area where household providers were previously essentially men. This in a way undermines the moral masculinity and power over resources and control inculcated by the norms and culture of the area.

During the violence, the most vulnerable were women, the elderly and children; which does not differ from the overall situation in Uganda as highlighted by Mugenyi (1998). Mugenyi (ibid), observed that while women constitute the majority of the population in Uganda, and contribute 80% of agricultural labour, 90% of domestic labour, are almost exclusively responsible for the health and nutrition of their families and communities, they remain highly marginalised. She asserted that since development requires a peaceful environment, the woman question and masculinity required serious attention because the gender inequality breeds conflict between genders which in turn undermines development efforts (Mugenyi, 1998). Peace and equity are thus inextricably interwoven in Uganda, not only for defining the relation between different ethnic groups, but also between men and women for national development. This requires the overall and equitable empowerment of women and men as well as structural changes to develop and sustain peace in Uganda, and in Mbale in particular.

Women in Uganda are encouraged to participate in elective leadership positions and there is a female seat at all levels of the local council leadership, as stipulated by the 1995 Constitution. The politics of the district however, just like the rest of the country, are marred by irregularities and are highly monetarised, rendering women as generally uncompetitive due to historical socio-economic disparities between genders. Hence, women remain underrepresented at leadership levels, including the formal institutions and justice structures of the area. This explains why in some categories of the target participants, the women were not represented at equal proportions with men in this thesis. The elected women in the area studied were in positions that had been exclusively reserved for women and nothing more than this. Thus, council leadership in the area was predominantly male. If the female seat at every council were not a compulsory legal requirement, then it is probable that women would be totally excluded at the elective leadership level.

The literacy rate, according to the Mbale District Planning Unit (2003) figures, is 49% for females and 64% for males, or 54% in the rural and 72% in the urban areas. With the recent introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), enrolment has increased dramatically in primary schools, yet facilities in schools have almost remained the same or even deteriorated in the past decade. Thus the quality of education has generally deteriorated, more so in the rural areas. Classes are overcrowded and most pupils do not have the appropriate resources for effective learning to take place, such as desks, pencils and books. The drop out rate remains high in the district, especially for the girls, as I observed during the fieldwork, and it is a common practice for parents who can afford high tuition fees to opt for their children to attend expensive private schools. Since the defilement law was enacted,

some girls are merely kept in school in order to act as bait, so as to attract a fine for defilement for their parents and guardians in the area. This is a manifestation of poverty, as well as greed and abuse of the girls for which the defilement law was enacted. This has, for example, resulted in a growing trend where more than 60% of men prisoners in Mbale prisons are young men who are either convicted or suspected of defilement related offences. Scarcity has thus forced parents (men are the custodians of women and children according to the Gishu culture, and are responsible for determining and controlling the bride price for girls)) to resort to the abuse of what would have been a protective law to keep girls in school; a protection designed to enhance their knowledge and skill levels for an increased socioeconomic and political productivity and development.

In fact, education is crucial to development for various reasons. In Uganda, the education system is changing drastically. Universal primary education [UPE] is highly subsidized by the government, and aims at providing basic education to children in primary schools. Secondary education is paid for and the better the school, the higher the cost of tuition, regardless of whether it is a state or private school. Most UPE schools are in a very sorry state, and this is where the children of the poor go. The private sector has infiltrated the education sector and monetarised it, changing the nature of education at all levels. Government regulation is inadequate for undermining the correlation between influence and achievement. The good schools in the country are very expensive and highly competitive. The rural children do not have access to first class schools and so have limited chances of pursuing higher education in first class institutions because of the prohibitive cost of tuition. Their elimination from the system thus takes place at an early stage. This divide is widening and has created

evident inequality between the rural and urban poor, and the urban rich throughout the country.

In 2003, Mbale district had 363 primary schools and only 63 secondary schools. Total enrolment in primary schools was 264,726, yet total enrolment in secondary schools was a mere 28,548. While 54,427 pupils were registered in primary one, primary seven had 21,830 pupils. The proportion of young children being pulled out of even the first years of primary school is therefore very high. Likewise, senior one had 6,686 students whilst only 1998 students were registered in senior four. Sources at the district education office indicated that drop out rates were high, particularly in rural areas, and were highly gendered. The average teacher to pupil ratio in primary schools was 1:60 and 1:20 in secondary schools. Whilst there was a remarkable improvement in teacher student ratios over the previous year (1:70 for primary and 1:35 for secondary), these ratios were worse in rural areas, with some primary schools at the time of the research having teacher pupil ratios of 1:120. These trends tend to compromise the quality of education and widen literacy inequalities between rural and urban children, and between men and women. This is reflected in the national examinations results where there are significant discrepancies between rural and urban schools in the district: the rural registering most failures according to one inspector of schools at the district. In these examinations, there is no significant difference between girls and boys in performance, hence the hypothesis that girls are unable to cope at higher levels is dubious, to say the least. Girls tend to be sacrificed to work as buffer-shocks for family survival and the opportunity cost is education loss because of resource scarcity and socialised gender inequality.

Literacy among adult women is likely to take time to improve since early school drop out rates are higher for girls than for boys, and functional literacy efforts are also constrained by poverty and survival issues, despite massive campaigns by the government and women's groups. This is an indication that all is not well. This is because the level and the quality of education of the people cannot be separated from the level of development, and education is explicitly a useful indicator of development.

According to the Mbale District Planning Unit Report, 2003, about 46% of the population of Mbale district are children below the age of 15, with the infant mortality rate of 95:1000, an extra-ordinarily high rate. Child malnutrition was at 45%, which retards children's growth, a serious health hazard to a healthy and productive future population. The fertility rate is 7 children per woman, yet the maternal mortality rate is 750 per 100,000, and the high risk birth rate was 30%. Women, like children in the area, are living risky health-compromised lives. Teenage pregnancies in the district were at 19%. And the life expectancy stands at a mere 47 years and is thought to be getting worse with the prevalence of HIV/AIDS related diseases. The high and increasing numbers of deaths, together with a low expectancy of life, leads to tremendous insecurity and fear in the lives of the people, reflected in their fears about the evils of witchcraft as a source of unexplained deaths and for the acute scarcity of resources. Despite the recent construction of health units to bring services nearer and to improve the general health of the people in this area, these units were poorly equipped and inadequately staffed.

The district has one referral hospital and 42 health units. The nurse to patient ratio was 1:5413, while patient to doctor ration was 1:26,734, which are extremely high ratios for an efficient and effective health delivery. The poor standards of health access, and the inadequacy of health facilities exacerbates the insecurities of the peoples of this area regarding questions of life, death and health, and the 'witches' are the prime suspects in case of any misfortune in the area. Overall, the district had 31 doctors, 72 nurses, 59 midwives, 47 clinical officers and 74 paramedics. While the drive for immunisation levels stood at 80%, intra-natal care was poor at a mere 26%, antenatal care at 17% and supervised deliveries at only 30%. About 80% of the population were said to be living within a 5km distance from the nearest health unit. The major diseases affecting the population according to this report were malaria, intestinal worms, diarrhoea, STDs including HIV/AIDS, and skin infections (Mbale District Planning Unit Report, 2003). All of these are preventable and treatable diseases. However, the poverty of the people, their education level and their lack of access to health resources, and to medication means that something that is treatable becomes life threatening, and a source of *evil* attributed to the acts of 'witches', hence attracting acts of violence towards those 'witches' in the community held to be responsible for such misfortune.

The same report showed that only 52% of the population in the district had access to safe water (from protected wells, unprotected wells, boreholes and tap water). Safe drinking water for all can reduce a large number of deaths. A concerted effort at evolving a sustainable peace and development strategy need to address the question of scarcity at all levels, and when this is done in society, it can go a long way to

improving this generally sorry socio-economic and political profile as reflected in the endemic violence of development in Mbale and Uganda at large.

1.2: 2 Violence in the Ugandan Context.

The violence in Mbale is just the tip of the iceberg for violence in the country at large.

Many have attributed the violence in Uganda to the post-colonial period, where experiments in state building were based on the army as an instrument of domestic politics which was itself increasingly a function of ethnic retaliation (Acker, 2004; Kabwegyere, 1995; Gakwandi, 1999, Omara-Otunnu, 1987). The marginalisation of the citizenry, driven by a selective composition of the army as a vehicle of domestic politics, is thus believed to be a major source of the vicious cycle of violence in Uganda according to this school of thought.

According to Mugaju (1996), the country's troubles, unending misery, and untold suffering are a result of colonial distortions, neo-colonialism, under-development, incompetent post-colonial leadership, ethnicity, militarism and religious sectarianism among others. And to Gakwandi (1999), the instability may to a great extent be attributed to the lack of a general consensus among Ugandans about how Uganda ought to be governed. Generally, the integration of Uganda as one country based on national unity and peaceful coexistence has been very difficult to build and because of this, the country has gone through many political transitions.

The responsible government departments have used, and continue to use, a military solution to violent conflicts. This has had little effect, instead exposing the populace to the effects of endemic everyday violence, like poverty, malnutrition, disease and fear, in addition to the extraordinary violence of war and insecurity due to these

violent conflicts. The ad hoc, militaristic and retaliatory responses have further fuelled the violence. The response to the Mbale violence was a highly militaristic violence management strategy. Violence management policies, though, are wasteful and expensive and the money would be much better spent on urgently needed socio-economic and political reform that would improve the quality of the lives of the people. It is the problem of scarcity which is key to understanding questions of violence, conflict management and sustainable peace in Uganda and particularly so for the Mbale context.

1.2: 3 Masculinity, Scarcity and Violence

Waruhiu's (1995) is an interesting analysis of the woman's situation in Africa. She argued that the woman's need is to be fully involved in development, enabling the exploration of all issues from a woman's perspective; be they socioeconomic or political (Waruhiu, 1995) was vital. It is widely acknowledged that women carry a disproportionate load in Africa. Women, for example, do 95% of the domestic work and in the rural areas, women do 85% of the weeding, 60% of harvesting, 50% of planting, 50% of caring for livestock, and 30% of ploughing (ibid; Goldman and Heldenbrand, 1998; Mugenyi, 1998). Despite this, women's participation is not underpinned by supporting structures or mechanisms, such as access to resources and decision making, mainly thanks to men's continued control over power and resources. Thus, there is no mechanism for hearing and addressing women's concerns. Despite some recent efforts by the African Union and specific national initiatives, the general socio-economic and political system prevalent for the continent tends to exclude women in most key levels of decision making, and does little to address the legal rights and economic capacities of women. Hence, violent masculinity and power

remain as questions integral to the problems and solutions of African crises, including that of conflict and peace.

While much research has been carried out on violence against women in war torn areas of Uganda, Africa and the world (Waller, 1997; Tripp, 2000, Mamdani; 2001; Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza , 1999; Cockburn , 1998), there is no specific study that has analysed the sources of conflict as well as attempting to understand the relationship between resource scarcity, control and masculinity for the dynamics of violence, its management and for sustainable peace development in intra-communal conflict situations using a gendered approach in Uganda. This study's focus on intra-communal conflict during and after conflict, and peace building initiatives in one particular community is therefore unique and is similar in many ways to Cockburn's work on the Balkans (Cockburn, 1998). The thesis also engages with Heald's analysis of masculinity with regard to the Bagisu people and how this relates to violence and peace. Most important is the way that this study gives voice to both men and women in order to gauge their understanding and experiences of both pre- and post-conflict situations in Mbale as a way forward to durable peace and sustainable development. Listening to both sexes helps gain a better understanding of what the conflict meant to these different social groups, how this understanding explains questions of violent masculinity and scarcity in violence escalation and conflict management. It also brings out how different genders and institutional agents responded to the violence, and how they negotiated survival after the violence in an intra-communal setting. These are basic and necessary steps for conflict management, sustainable peace and development. This study thus allows for collective participation and ownership of

policy from the grassroots, including that of conflict management and peace initiatives, in order to work towards sustainable peace and development.

1.3 The Organisational Structure of the Study

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. The organisational framework of the whole study is arranged in a way that provides for a logical progression of the important issues under analysis. Chapter One provides the introduction to the study. The chapter provides an introduction to the socio-economic and political situation of Ugandans. It highlights the situational analysis of poverty, masculinity and violence in Mbale, and ends with an emphasis on a gender sensitive approach to research on conflict and peace. Chapter two deals with methods of data collection, analysis and the generation of field materials, and shows the problems, the objectives and the justification for the study. It talks about the practical challenges encountered in the field, and how they were overcome. Chapter two is followed by chapter three; the literature review. Here, key concepts of the study are defined and related to the theme of the thesis. The issue of the prevalent conflicts on the African continent is examined with emphasis on an intra-communal mode of violence. Further, the concepts of masculinity and scarcity as they relate to violence, peace and development are examined. Chapter four brings out an analytical picture of the question of violent masculinity in the area of Mbale and the communities that inhabit this in order to situate the violence. The interview materials aid in detailing accounts of the voices of the different social groups, and what they perceived to have been the source of the violent conflict. This chapter aims at bringing out the meaning of masculinity, scarcity and resource deprivation to the community and how this relates to violent tendencies. Leadership, as a sign of responsibility, emerges vividly and it is revealed that while some leaders may have

found ways to stop the violence, others used their positions and popularity to escalate the violent situation.

Chapter five looks at the aftermath of the conflict situation and analyses what different respondents view to be the consequences and implications of the violent conflict to socio-economic and political development and sustainable peace in the communities. It highlights the fact that violence affected the community in many different ways. The chapter also shows how violence can result in gendered effects, and the stories gathered form a basis for an argument that seeks to ascertain how long term and self sustaining peace can be achieved, so that prosperity and development can thrive in this poverty stricken community.

In chapter six, I examine how the Bagisu traditionally resolved conflicts peacefully through the *Bukkulo* mediation structure. I use this to analyse and question why the intra community violence of 1995/96 was not resolved by these traditional structures, but instead turned violent, and ponder why the existing structures (traditional and modern) were not capable of managing the Mbale conflict. I then deal with the management strategies employed during the conflict. Different accounts are presented to depict how this conflict was managed and the analysis made is drawn from these accounts. I then present conflict resolution strategies during the violence and after it.

Chapter seven examines the possibilities for peace in the post conflict situation in Mbale. It discusses how peace and social justice can be restored in a community that has suffered from violent conflicts. I argue that situations of insecurity, disharmony and mistrust cannot be ignored when dealing with conflict management and

sustainable peace as a way forward to prosperity. I emphasise that sustainable peace and development cannot be achieved without putting in place strategies for peace in the areas that suffered the violence. Chapter eight provides the conclusion, recommendations, and suggestions for further research. I have suggested how the violent situation could be prevented from recurring by advocating specific policy measures and interventions. All these recommendations are drawn from the entire thesis.

Chapter Two: Methodology

In some cases tradition like ritual has been associated with the timeless and unchanging, viewed either as an Eden to which one must return or a wasteland from which one must escape. In other cases it has been celebrated as a productive and energising base on top of which one can erect new structures. The former position draws strict boundaries; live with the tradition or depart from it- while the latter encourages a more fluid, even nomadic, relationship to tradition; go where you will but remember whence you came.

2.1: 1 Introduction to Chapter two

This chapter deals with methods of data collection, analysis and generation, and shows the problem, the objectives and the justification to the study. It gives an over view of the practical challenges, and how these were overcome. The methods were tailored to the conditions in the field and were flexible enough to meet the challenges of an empirical study in a post conflict situation. The methods used in this study thus bear the formal ways of doing a qualitative research as well as acknowledging African or in this case Ugandan way of generating data.

The fieldwork was aimed at reaching out and capturing the experience of survivors, witnesses, perpetrators, survivors, court officials, police and community leaders in the search for the underlying sources of the conflict, how it was managed and possibilities of attaining sustainable peace. The Mbale violence situation is used here as an example of what may occur in the wider community in situations of conflict in the developing world. I recognised the importance of less formal qualitative research so as to obtain empirical information after gaining the trust of participants because the participants were knowledgeable on the conflict situation that had engulfed their community and its aftermath effects. While I got involved in community activities, I used unstructured

interviewing as a natural form of human interactions and this enabled me to capture of issues and events which otherwise would not be generated in a structured context. I have thus used the data generated through observation, unstructured interviews and secondary sources in the analysis of this thesis.

3.1: 2 Personal Positioning in the Research

I was born in Manjiya but moved to Bubulo to live with my sister at the age of five years.

Since 1992, I have worked in Mbale town as an HIV/AIDS counsellor and a teacher, and have a work based residence there. I have thus come to know many people in both Manjiya and Bungokho because of both my professional work, and family links with the ancestral home. I have also since 1998 worked in Mbale District with different social groups and communities as a trainer of trainers on HIV/AIDS, poverty eradication and gender equity awareness. It is therefore possible that some respondents may have taken me as such more than as a student researcher during our interactions in the field.

Part of my nuclear family and extended relations still live in Manjiya, and during the later stages of the fieldwork, word had spread about my ancestral roots and many participants in the area had started treating me as a relative regardless of their position in the violence (survivors, perpetrators and local leaders); due to the nature of extended family networks and relations in the area. Byrne quoting Oakley, 1981, advised that when studying people, such a goal is best achieved if the relationship of the interviewer and interviewee is a non-hierarchical one (Byrne 2004) and this makes a research a partnership based on mutual relations. Though I borrowed this and treated respondents as mutual partners, I was very hesitant to include any close family member as a respondent during the research even though I interacted with many over other issues during my time in Manjiya because I wanted to avoid explicit biases as much as I could.

Besides family links, my personal orientation as a social justice and gender equity advocator may have influenced the way I asked questions, the choice of categories of respondents and the approach to the research. In addition to this, my gender and linguistic ethnicity was very useful in dealing with women but my religion and social class may have been an obstacle in the interactions with respondents particularly in Manjiya area that is predominantly catholic and Bungokho which is predominantly muslim.

Likewise, social class and linguistic ethnicity may have helped ease interactions with men, and gender may have worked to the contrary. This does not however make my work either less objective or more subjective because Shipman has observed that often some researchers have used the concept of objectivity to dictate their individual subjectivity as the absolute truth (Shipman, 1997). I have used Patti's interactive approach and emancipatory strategy that encourages self disclosure, self reflection and deep understanding of the participants' situation (Patti, 1985 in Reiharz, 1992) very carefully at different stages of the fieldwork. I was for example able to deal with antagonistic parties in the field and established rapport and confidence before I could be trusted; this meant that I had to stay in the field for over a month before I started interviews. I did not try to hurry up anyone during data collection and would end some sessions only to return to them at a later stage where necessary. I also made sure women were represented in all categories of the respondents except where it was absolutely impossible to get them involved.

Generally, my orientation had some influence on the choice of the topic and how I went about researching it, and above all how I negotiated access in the field. Opting for a more balanced view by having survivors, perpetrators, community leaders, police, media and

judicial representatives participate in the study was very important in having all the sides of the story listened too. My ontological position is that all those people possess a wealth of knowledge and their experiences are worth exploring in getting a balanced view using the most suitable way of generating that knowledge. By so doing, those who had experienced the violence and its management were able to explain the sources, manifestations and management of the violence. Hence, this position dictated both my methodology and my relationship to the respondents.

Besides, being a Mugisu and a woman, and using unstructured interviewing approach stimulated not only trust but also cooperation (Olesen, 1994, Fiske, 1994). There was a feeling among participants that I would understand the lived realities and possibly help them improve their lives. And being a professional teacher and counsellor has helped improve my ability to listen and observe over time, and this I constantly employed in the field; as the nature of the research meant that sometimes I had to be empathetic and listened as much as possible particularly with the survivors, local leaders and the perpetrators. I did not thus keep time limits during such sessions especially with one to one interviews.

This understanding of the culture of the area since I have personally lived it eased my observation, helped me understand and interpret what the respondents said at different times, and speaking the local language (all dialects) fluently was very important. This also helped ease the communication boundaries which would be different had I used an interpreter, and above all, I knew when to stop asking and listen because I could read the body language of the participants in the area quite well as a native. My personal position as an outsider as well as an insider (did not experience the violence studied) helped ease tensions; especially when the participants realised who I was. This mode of interviewing

enabled me to position the research more as a friendship between myself and the research subjects; as who you are makes a big difference to what you see, can be seen and how seeing occurs, and to what conclusions are drawn. My personal location thus allowed an informal way of interaction as a natural and productive way of communication in the research setting.

By the survivors of the violence, I was frequently asked and requested to say how I would help better their lives after hearing the stories at the end of the sessions even when my meetings with suspected perpetrators of the violence who are still in the hiding may have been known by some of the survivors; a sign that I was trusted. I promised to give feedback of results to the participants and to key agents of change at different levels in the community for dissemination, policy planning and implementation. I also took the initiative to present to some local leaders some salient concerns raised by the people I had interacted with while still in the field as the interactions covered issues like education, health, and poverty since the unstructured nature of the research stimulated discussion on other subject matters that were deemed important to the participants. I therefore hope to give an executive summary of the findings and recommendation of this thesis for disseminating to the leadership. I would also like to reach the communities personally and share the findings if resources warrant this.

A feministic methodology and grounded theory approach to qualitative study were particularly adopted because of the flexibility and options they pose in both data collection and analysis. Grounded theory helped ensure that the ideas and recommendations that were developed and the policy imperatives that emerged from the data, were grounded in what key participants have contributed through their words and experiences (Glaser and Strauss

1967; Glaser 1995, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1997 In Goodley et al 2004). This is because grounded theory is concerned with theoretical explanation of what is going on in any given research situation, and is sufficiently adaptable to be fitted to studies in which both the research methodology and process of analysis are developing in unpredictable ways as was the case in this study. This allowed constant evaluation at every level of inquiry; responses were kept open, analysed as they came in and the field research was ended only when the answers attained from the proceeding sessions did not vary with earlier responses. In this way, multiple perspectives to set questions were thoroughly exhausted and minority views taken into consideration till I was certain nothing new was emerging from proceeding interview sessions.

This constant analysis and evaluation was very vital for me, though tape records and notes were maintained and made by the research assistants during interview sessions that enabled later retrieval and playbacks. This continuous analysis and flexibility adopted also allowed me to include the peace process question as a theme during the data generation when I learnt that durable and sustainable peace was yet to be achieved in the area ten years after the violent conflict, even if I had not conceived this theme at earlier stages of the study. By doing so, varied objectives were attained through this sensitive exploration of lived realities of different participants in the study.

Even when I used notes and recording, I made this less intrusive and destructive by having the research assistants do the writing and recording while I concentrated on the interview session and the participants. This enabled me to keep to the bounds of the grounded theory yet I had important data stored for easy access, accuracy and retrieval at the writing stage where a particular voice(s) had to be quoted. This qualitative research approach was useful

in helping me achieve the goals of the study adequately by enabling the inclusion and incorporation of different voices including those of the minority which could be silenced had I opted for other methods which are less sensitive, dynamic and flexible. I selected sites in the intra-communal violence zones of Bungokho and Manjiya counties so as to learn from witnesses, survivors, perpetrators and state operatives.

2.2: 2 Research Problem

The focus of this study is to understand how the question of scarcity and masculinity relate to the overall question of violence and conflict management in an intra-communal conflict situation. The aim is to find out how durable peace could be rebuilt in a post-violent conflicts situation, and how this could lead to sustainable peace for socio economic development. The study thus provokes a debate regarding the sources of the conflict, its manifestations, how the violence was managed or ought to have been managed and the road to sustainable peace and development.

2.2:4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are therefore to:

- Analyse the sources of the Mbale violent conflict.
- Analyse the different understanding of the violence by survivors, perpetrators, witnesses and state institutions.
- Illustrate and discuss the consequences of the violence.
- Analyse the effectiveness of the conflict management strategies that were employed during the conflict.
- Examine the efforts to peace after the violence.
- Suggest possible policy imperatives to achieving sustainable peace and development.

2.2:5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following key questions derived from the research problem and the objectives:

What do the respondents [survivors, perpetrators, media, police, judiciary, local leadership and witnesses] understand to be the underlying sources of the violent conflict?

What do they say have been the general effects of this violence?

What was done to bring about order and stability, and how is this viewed?

How has sustainable peace been harnessed in the post conflict situation?

What conclusions and recommendations could be drawn from these?

2. 2:6 Key Participants

The categories of respondents were determined according to the role they played before, during and after the violence. The categories were; chiefs and other civic leaders (elders); the bereaved and affected families; survivors; police; judiciary; media; prisoners (perpetrators on the run); and the displaced. A standard guiding questionnaire was irrelevant since questions were tailored to each category of participants and this helped in providing a view on specific questions. To ask a Judge in High Court how peace was taking root in the villages was irrelevant yet he/she could be in position to say what the people said may have led to the violence in that community. Hence guiding questions to each category were well thought of before they were included on schedule for each category of respondents and the open ended questions in the unstructured style of interviewing helped maximise discovery as correctly propounded by Raymond In Reiharz, 1992).

There is also no scholarly study except journalistic works on the intra communal violence

of Mbale. This does not render this conflict less important and irrelevant but instead shows that there is so much that the study can reveal for social, political and economic development of Mbale and beyond which has been either ignored or taken for granted. It was therefore necessary and urgent to study and understand ways in which the violent conflict has been experienced and perceived by the survivors, perpetrators, witnesses, law enforcing agencies, the civil society and the general leadership in order to identify the possible strategies and structures that could be put in place for sustainable peace and development in the post conflict situation in Mbale. It is also hoped that the understanding generated from this case study can be of wider relevancy to other conflict situations.

2.2: 7 Scope of the Study

The study geographically covers two counties of Bungokho and Manjiya in Mbale district of Eastern Uganda. The two sub-counties of Bukonde and Bufumbo in Bungokho and the three sub-counties of Bushika, Bulucheke and Bubiita in Manjiya were selected and covered due to the intensity, and inter relatedness of events in these areas. These locations were particularly chosen because they represented the sites where the escalation of violence was more intense the Mbale violence of 1995/96. The time span covered was from August 1995 to the present. Since the study was dealing with the conflict and post-conflict dynamics, some participants were not necessarily living in the geographical locations at the time of the research but were nevertheless able to discuss the subject based on their experiences and knowledge of what took place in the selected geographical locations during and after the violence. See the Map of Mbale for details regarding the locations and sites of the research.

2.3 Research Procedure

2.3:1 Pre-field

Before the actual field research, I carried out a pilot study in March/April 2003 where I got a general picture of the violence in Mbale district (1995/96). Prior to my actual entry in September 2003, I had obtained permission from the Mbale District Leadership and solicited their participation in the study to which they consented in August 2003. I negotiated access to condemned prisoners of the violence but this did not materialise (with the condemned section) in the actual fieldwork due to technical reasons. I visited Bufumbo during this period because of its proximity to Mbale town and made contacts with old friends in the community who agreed to guide me during the actual fieldwork. These turned out to be key informants throughout the fieldwork period when I finally returned to the villages for the actual data collection. These initial contacts were thus very helpful and eased continued communication with key stakeholders throughout the research process in the area.

The pilot research for example revealed willingness of men to take part in the research and this helped me rethink and devise appropriate means of involving the women to participate constructively during the actual fieldwork. Women only sessions in rural areas were accordingly planned in such a way that they did not interfere with domestic chores and gardening that made the women busy throughout the mornings to late afternoon. I also endeavoured to meet women participants before the rains arrived, since most women would be extremely busy in this season and could hardly have any free time for informal or interview discussions. The dry season (December to February) was an opportunity to reach the highly mountainous areas which have no modern access to any form of transportation or communication networks such as roads apart from footpaths. Sometimes, it would take us four hours or more of uphill walking, more so in Manjiya area which was exhausting,

but once we arrived at the meeting point, we became engrossed in the work.

All in all, the pre-field study helped me identify key informants and research assistants, gain initial access to the field as well as prepare myself for the eventualities in the actual field such as weather, transport, and to redesign my research design and questions. While the initial access and permission were useful, this did not guarantee automatic entry and access to the actual field setting as explained later in this chapter.

2.3: 2 Research Assistants

It was during the pilot period that I identified two research assistants whom I worked with during the fieldwork period. The research assistants were male and female fresh university graduates of social science who had studied research methods in their respective courses. Like myself, the research assistants were native speakers of Lumasaba (Lugisu), the medium of communication in the field and one of them hailed from Manjiya county the site of the violence. This knowledge of the local language was a very important tool in the villages though English language was occasionally used with participants from public agencies who were not necessarily Bamasaba.

Despite this, no one can be sure that two people's understanding of terms and concepts can ever be the same, and translating what was presented in Lumasaba or Lugisu in English and vice-versa was equally challenging to me always. This is why I rigorously did the analysis of the data manually other than employ qualitative software for analysis of the data (for fear of losing meaning from a wider context).

These research assistants were never left alone to carry out the research. They were well briefed on the objectives, methods and ethical considerations of the project. They helped

take notes, timed and tape recorded the interview sessions whenever we were allowed to record. I could later seek their opinion about the interview session, and they would evaluate and give feedback. This helped me make necessary adjustments in the proceeding sessions. Since they both knew the key issues, I would give them the chance at the end of each interview to ask for clarifications from participants on issues they felt did not clearly come out in the session or on an aspect I may have skipped during the interview due to the relaxed nature of the interviewing technique. While doing this, they kept in mind the sensitivity of the research as well as the sensibilities of all participants. Above all, they were very good company who helped in engaging me in constant analysis, reflection and discussion as the study unfolded.

2.3:3 The fieldwork

The actual fieldwork commenced in September 2003 after formal permission was gained from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (NCST); an organisation responsible for regulating research in the country. Due to security reasons the male research assistant stayed in Mbale town, the two of us resided in Bungokho-Mutoto Sub-County from October to December 2003 while we were researching in Bungokho area. We would meet at the Mbale main taxi park and travel as a team to Bufumbo and Bukonde sub-counties of Bungokho. I lived with the female research assistant Monday to Friday from January to March 2004 in Bubulo, Bubwaya village while conducting fieldwork in Manjiya County. The male research assistant stayed in Bududa at Konokoyi trading Centre in Manjiya. This meant that we could meet him (Richard) at an agreed point and proceed on to the assignment of the day as we covered the different sites in Manjiya.

We visited markets on village market days, joined village meetings, and attended other

social gatherings such as burials especially at the beginning of the fieldwork. Occasionally, we would be invited to give a talk to women's groups on matters ranging from sanitation, community health, reproductive health, parenting and HIV/AIDS, income generating activities and poverty eradication to education and literacy. Through this voluntary work we were brought nearer to the community, the process reinforced trust and this was a very important point of entry. It also provided an opportunity to give back something to the communities; in line with a feministic spirit of research. These gatherings provided an opportunity to share experiences, knowledge, and helped me observe many things that I would have not observed had I not become involved in these activities. I learnt how men and women expressed themselves in a group and as individuals and noted that men were more dominant in mixed groups and most women felt at ease if such seminars were exclusively for women. I also found out that women could ask more questions if the presenter was a woman especially on issues of sexuality as related to HIV/AIDS phenomenon. This was not the case with men who would participate whether the presenter was female or male.

The voluntary involvement gave me a special chance to experience life in the communities as well as a chance to build social interactions and personal relationships through informal discussions. I was up to date with a lot information on many events in the community and could use some of these examples to lighten the tensions at the beginning of the interview sessions which worked so well. This thus helped ease the situation and the process of bringing up the contentious issue surrounding the violence to different stakeholders. These gathering were also an opportunity to schedule individual interview sessions as well as focus group discussions.

Generally, getting to identify respondents (such as survivors from perpetrators) at the beginning of the fieldwork was rather difficult but eased as time passed. Snowballing techniques were used as soon as access and links were established after about one month in the field. Here participants would give names of key respondents especially when they felt they had not answered all the questions and felt someone else could. I limited this to the categories of respondents appropriate to the study, and level of saturation of a particular research question basing on the qualitative research approach.

2.3: 4 Getting In the Field

During the initial period in the actual field, we had to introduce ourselves to local community leaders at all levels, despite the permission from NCST. Some sub-county councillors had their own programmes and they saw our coming as an opportune time to facilitate the process of peace and reconciliation besides using it as a political strategy to go back to their constituencies. Thus the research was seen to be a timely and accepted political process in some areas. Different political leaders were eager to receive us in the villages and introduce us to the people. These leaders could organise meetings in villages that were dealing with issues such as family conflict resolution and poverty eradication, and invited us to attend. We thus got involved in conflict management and peace together with the community leaders. Subsequently, other community leaders became interested once they learnt we were studying conflict management and peace building, and likewise allocated us parishes in their respective constituencies which we willingly visited.

The common procedure was that the LC I Chairperson chairs the meeting and where the leader was involved in the conflict directly, the LC II Chairperson would be invited to chair.

The antagonistic parties would give background positions to the conflict openly in turn. Local leaders (i.e. LC I and LC II) would then explain to the village the steps they had taken to resolve the conflict and the impediments involved. The rest of the villagers would then give their comments. We would also be asked to give our comments. This gave chance for all parties to listen to each other and the villagers would be involved in the process of negotiation and change.

Most of these conflicts were related to land boundaries, historical rivalries and grudges between families, envy and suspected crime involving theft, inheritance issues, and adultery/defilement (particularly of 'minors' and HIV/AIDS). In these sessions, we saw that conflicts would be resolved and antagonistic parties would be asked to shake hands and some would even embrace each other. Finally the Councillor would give a talk (usually social-political and development oriented) and would promise to continue supporting peace efforts in the villages by bringing in experts in different spheres to help communities in the future. The villagers used the opportunity to present matters salient to their lives, and other grievances in the village that required the attention of higher authority. This included open criticism of the leaders' performance, and where they demanded answers, these were either given or at least promised.

This helped us to get acquainted with the people and we were able to locate some informants who would help us identify particular respondents since the research had specific categories of respondents for interviews. This experience (with local leaders) was thus useful in two folds; first of all, it eased access to the area of research since formally, the leaders had allowed us entry by giving us the mandate to research in their areas of jurisdiction. Otherwise, we would be regarded as trespassers and in the long-run the

implications and allegations could be numerous and sometimes fatal. Secondly, we came to know different people in different villages which was important during the whole research process as these people became link persons.

On the other hand though, we were seen as experts and government workers in the villages since we had been introduced as such; as those aiding government to end conflict and bring about peace and development. We therefore had an uphill task of renegotiating our positional status as partners not superiors, and reassuring the respondents that we were not government workers but student researchers who did not take sides in the politics of the communities in question at all. This confidence was gained shortly after they realised that we were interacting with perpetrators and survivors of the 1995/96 violence as well as attending important social gatherings on both sides without prejudice. We also listened to witnesses, survivors, leaders and perpetrators of the violent conflict with due respect and this was very important if we had to get all the different view points on different themes of the research.

2.3: 5 Research Tools

Prior to the field, a research guide was constructed which laid down tentative questions for each category of respondents. These questions were derived from the objectives of the study. I identified the different stakeholders in the conflict and its management thus, the different categories of respondents. After assessing possibilities of how the data would be generated from the participant categories I had identified, I zeroed down to interviewing, observation and documents analysis.

Questions asked to each category depended on the objective and the anticipated knowledge

of the respondent. This helped in ensuring that all vital issues guided by the objectives of the study were adequately covered without having to ask uniform questions to all respondents. The guiding questions were translated in Lumusaba; a medium of communication in the field after a pre-test was done during a pilot study carried out in March 2003. This guide was a very flexible one, and allowed comprehensive coverage of different elements in the main questions of the study. Some sessions particularly with state agencies were carried out in English though.

2.4 Data Generation

Three ways of data generation were used. They were purposeful observation, interviewing and secondary data sources:

2.4: 1 Secondary Data

Documentation analysis was used during the pre-field period and beyond. These sources included police archives/records, local council minutes, judicial proceedings and newspaper archives. I also looked through judicial and police records, read local council archives (where available), speeches and minutes besides newspaper archives. These assisted me greatly in conducting panel interviews in the field from an informed position.

This allowed for better understanding of the laws, statutes, rules and regulations, as well as policies pertaining to violence. Interactions with the police, local council chiefs or officials and the judiciary or courts of law officials required this greatly because many issues of legality arose during the course of the interactions and discussions.

The documentation was often inadequate including the public service, and computerised records were not kept at the time of the violence. For example, acquiring the figures for

deaths and injured through this conflict was not possible from the police, hospitals or local government administrative centres despite the fact that the police has some summarised records of homicide related cases which do not tally at all with the memories in the field. I will give details of this in subsequent chapters.

2.4: 2 Interviewing

Interviewing was used because direct observation of what I wanted to study was not possible and record keeping is still very poor more so in rural Uganda. Interviewing with a purpose was the main tool of data generation because listening to the stories of men and women who witnessed, participated or were affected by the community violence was a very necessary step if the dynamics of the violence, its sources, management and the process of sustainable peace had to be understood. Survivors, perpetrators and witnesses of the violence for example gave their accounts of the violence, and the administrative and legal personnel who dealt with the situation were also interviewed. This helped me not only to experience how peace has been and was being negotiated, understood and anticipated in a community whose memories and consequences of violence are still vivid, but also to appreciate how survivors, perpetrators and law enforcing agencies are forging ahead from lessons learnt. I sought to understand how they were negotiating their relationships after the violence, and to see the consequences on the lives of those who participated in, were affected by and witnessed the violence. Qualitative interviewing therefore provided the flexibility of integrating the secondary data sources and observation in the data generation process.

Focus group interviews then helped in generating different data from different view points as different themes of research were discussed based on key questions. Indeed the

interaction that went on between participants allowed for a richer generation of data than would have emerged in a one to one interview session (see Byrne 2004). Some accounts for example would be opposed through the interaction and this made me aware of memory distortions despite the fact that social meaning and explanations from all were important as they all presented the reality of their social world. Related to this is the fact that if truth is socially constructed, there will be different versions since there are many in the construction from within and without. Shipman (1997) while advocating for feministic social research based on experience, asserted that the idea of objectivity is a masculine concept that results in a researcher controlling the researched and undermining the fact that different people view the world differently.

Out of 13 focus groups conducted, 5 were exclusively women groups and the rest were partially mixed but dominated by men. The plan was to restrict participation to the maximum of 12 but this was not possible and we ended up with an average of 16 participants per group. This was because on many occasions we ended up with more people joining the group even during the course of the session and it is culturally rude to exclude a person in a social gathering in this community. Here invitation cards to any gathering are just a formality and made by the middle and upper class but never strictly adhered to unless a gathering is taking place in a restricted facility like a hotel. In rural areas where such facilities don't exist, invitation of any form is not necessary for one to attend any gathering and extending invitation sometimes is regarded as a sign of trying to exclude others or even treating the invited as outsiders. Generally women do not freely join exclusively male social gathering or else the female would be deemed promiscuous but men can join female gatherings without any problem.

The focus sessions were usually conducted in public space such as cooperative society

premises or communal football fields. One to one interview sessions that required confidentiality were conducted in the homes of the participants.

In some areas like Bufumbo and parts of Manjiya, many respondents expected aid or micro-finance credit scheme initiative. They told me much about the evils of the existing micro credit scheme such as FOCCAS that was operating in the area and how many have become homeless because the project had taken serious steps during the loan recovery including uprooting roofing from the houses, which are mostly iron roofed and wattle. I was also told of the corruption and asked many times to report some cases to other authorities. This attracted many people to join the focus group so as to air out their dissatisfaction and grievances especially with the leadership.

Since there is no way of producing knowledge other than through the minds of particular knowers, interviewing as a method generally enabled me to position the research as a real friendship between myself and the respondents. Voices and views in this thesis therefore have specifically been indicated using a coined name of each respondent. Where an opinion was shared, efforts have been made to indicate that both men and women shared similar view or experience. However, women were less represented in the whole research because the categories dictated the choice and since women are less represented or even non-existent in some categories (particularly professional categories) the official voices are those of male leadership.

All the same, it was very important that I interviewed women separately from men on many occasions not as a discriminative technique but as a way of getting to hear the views and opinions of women. In focus groups where women leaders were involved, men tended to over shadow women and sometimes shut them down whenever they said something that

was deemed unacceptable to the men as a group. The separation worked well and eased tensions.

Occasionally, tape recording was not allowed by the participant or institution, hence relied on notes taken by research assistants. During the interviewing, efforts were usually made not to interrupt the participants and focus groups were particularly long and enriching. Individual interview sessions especially with the survivors of the violence were highly emotional and at one time, I had to cut short a session with a widow who had lost a son and husband during the violence. Even when I saw her on different occasions, we talked about other issues as she did not want anyone to know I had interviewed her.

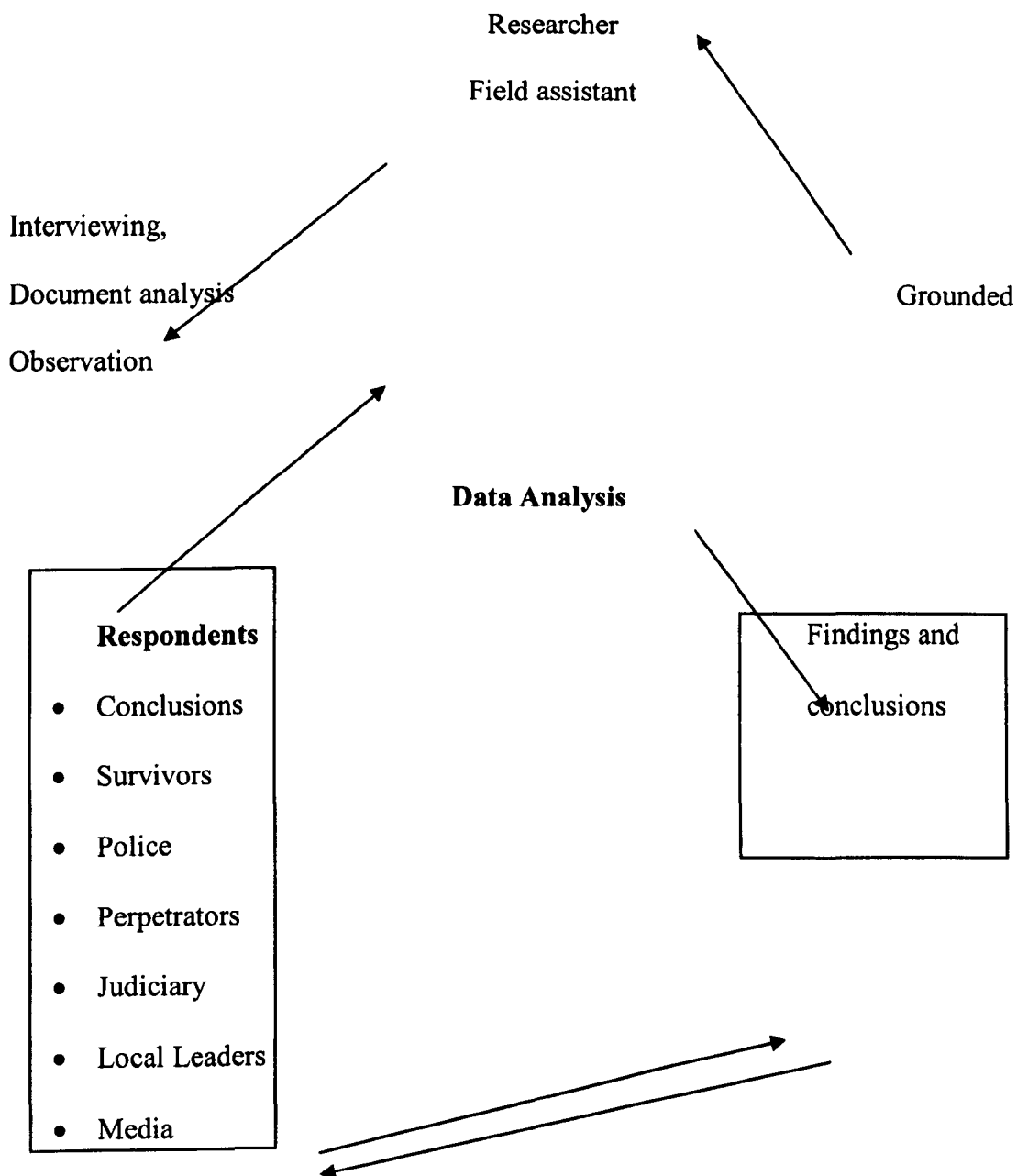
Whether individual, or group interviews, probes were used without distorting the course of the conversation as early indicated. There was no specific format of asking questions and respondents were at liberty to direct the session and we allowed as much time as possible so as to be able to cover all the salient issues of the research. I would only check that most if not all questions on the guide had been covered in the session. At times I had to reschedule another session with the same group to exhaustively cover important questions of the research. I was very flexible in time keeping and management and I never attempted to put pressure on the participants on this matter.

Wherever there was an emergency such as death, burial or taking the ill to the hospital, I made adjustments accordingly because it was impossible to continue with the interview or even start one. For example, in March 2004, I was on a follow up mission to Bushiyi but was delayed by heavy rains and took shelter at Kikhololo trading centre. I was approached by a lady whose sister was having health problems after having had a caesarean section.

She had waited for four hours to get a car to Bududa hospital, which was about six kilometres away but the two they had stopped were not willing to take a heavily bleeding person in their cars. The family could also not raise the fee for other members of the family to support the ill woman who was ~~too weak to move on~~ her own. I requested our driver to transport the family to the hospital and partially contributed to the hospital expenses.

A total of 53 interview sessions were conducted all together, of which 13 were focus group interviews, and the remaining in-depth individual interviews with survivors, perpetrators, police, judiciary, prison officials, media, civic and political leaders. I have a full list of the quoted respondents in the appendences. While I have used local names, these are not actual names of the particular respondents in order to preserve confidentiality.

Public servants had very busy schedules and could only afford in-depth interviews through appointment, and for other categories of respondents like the perpetrators and survivors, it was just very difficult and unethical to involve them in a focus group due to the sensitivity of the subject and impact on their lives. In some few instances though, some of them felt comfortable to have a close relative around usually a member of the family and could occasionally consult him/her/them during the course of the interview. All interviews were done at the convenience of respondents, confidentiality was assured prior to individual sessions and some interviews had to be conducted at night due to busy schedules of respondents and other ethical considerations. All in all, the fieldwork was educative, and rich in the evidence that was collected.



2.4: 3 Data Compilation and Analysis

Data collection and generation took place concurrently. Relevant notes derived from secondary data summaries were kept. I kept summary notes of every meeting and the recorded interviews were (personally) transcribed. I have had identities of all participants in my notes modified so that I am able to know who said what by use of other local names of the area. Field notes were important and tapes were still crucial because I kept referring to them even during the writing process when emphasising a particular aspect. Whenever I look back on the field notes, I can vividly recall the salient issues of a particular meeting

and the person I interacted with. I occasionally took photographs of the area setting and the people with whom I interacted with for use in future works.

Five themes based on the research questions were taken into consideration in data generation and compilation. Materials were arranged in such a way that responses from all categories of participants would be grouped under these themes. I also took note of the category and gender of the respondent so as to ease the analysis and writing up. These themes are: course or dynamics of the violence; causes of the violence; consequences of the violence; management of the violence; peace question (what ought to be done to sustain peace), and which way forward for sustainable peace and development. This system is based on grounded theory and helped me to determine the progress of the fieldwork.

I used manual processing and organising the data into themes for analysis and the data analysis chapters of this thesis are based on these themes (see chapter four, five six, seven and eight) after compilation and analysis. All voices could not be included in the thesis though, and whatever is given represents a view on a particular subject in question, and voice references are always made to the empirical data during the writing up of this thesis.

All in all, I modified Mason's (1996) chart layout which helped in identifying key themes in the available data while putting in mind the questions and objectives of the study, and this shaped my direction in the whole analysis and discussion. Efforts were made to promote accuracy by keeping a track record of the interviews and observation, and also by checking existing records and relating them to what I had been told. Paying attention to cultural explanations given was also important as the interactions are best translated from the cultural setting. I am not a tourist in the research setting but a native and listened to all

participants with due respect and have included what would be minority voices in this thesis.

2.4: 4 Constraints and Practical Challenges of the Study

Doing research in Uganda is many times treated with sceptism and suspicion at all levels. It is only if one understands the history of Uganda; the country generally, that one could have a clue of what nine months of field research may actually mean more so when the study included studying institutional structures. There is the question of access to record that was still a serious constraint. Kisamba-Mugerwa in reference to literature on women in Uganda shows that documentation is still scanty and sometimes non-existent in the country, which places researchers in very difficult position to document some issues (Kisamba-Mugerwa 1989 In Mwaka O.B., 1998). Indeed there was a real difficulty in accessing secondary data particularly the unpublished data. Even when the data does exist, accessing it was a real hurdle and involved negotiating and renegotiations almost on a daily basis particularly with lower cadres in the institutions studied.

I was also under constant surveillance by some parties on the ground. Opportunists took advantage to threaten and intimidate me so that I could bribe my way to have access to either secondary sources or the respondents. Others misconceived the research as a spy mission on behalf of government and worse still, the global trends of global wars in the Muslim world made my position as Muslim researcher studying violence and peace very difficult. I was for example restricted access to some documents which were deemed confidential (even when they were actually not) and at some point I was subjected to intimidating and religiously discriminating remarks in public which I had to bear most of the time as I struggled to manage the balance between ethics and the politics of the research.

Mobilisation was difficult at the beginning of the research where I had assigned the local leaders to do the mobilisation of communities that suffered violence during the pilot study period. After getting accustomed and known in the villages during the actual fieldwork, I had to renegotiate my position, I did the mobilisation personally and selected the target groups purposefully based on snowball technique. Other constraints like topography and weather rendered accessibility to areas like Bunandutu, Bufuma and Mabono all in Bulucheke very difficult to frequent, but all the same, response was very encouraging from all the villages during the late stages of fieldwork.

This research has an explicitly moral purpose; that of bring about peace and social justice which occasionally conflicted with partisan political interests in the field at all levels. Another challenge was that of dealing with the distressed and traumatized, and whether the search for data could supersede the human side in me and in the participants. How to differentiate between actual survivors and perpetrators was a real challenge right from the experience of the pilot study. Shifting positions were reflected in blame and counter blame by different parties in the antagonism. And the violence did not respect clan boundaries and kinship relations. Mbale district is mountainous and some areas are very remote which posed a difficulty in communication, accessibility and making appointments for interviews. Above all the fieldwork was rather costly in terms of time and money.

Secondly, locating myself within the research was a challenge. Self disclosure by respondents was vital in this respect but when it did happen; led many to pour out their stories of loss, grief, sorrow, and suffering which I found very distressing on my part. Since I was a daughter of the soil, they thought I would help rescue them out of both the daily

strain of poverty and the social injustices being faced. This could explain why they poured out so much that it became very difficult for me not to be emotionally upset and feel the need to take some form of responsibility. I knew inside me that they deserved more yet was also handicapped to change their situation immediately. It was generally difficult to hold back emotions as stories of torture and brutal deaths were told even when empathetic strategy as a counsellor was available to me and was occasionally put to use.

Each story was unique and a tragedy in its own right, and could not be summed up in purely academic terms of what actually took place during the violence and after. I was at one time at loss when a *survivor* of the violence was quick to thank me for taking the initiative to have their side heard for the first time after such a long time. He emphasised that I should show how they were innocent survivors and I could that tell he meant every word, and I felt a sense of burden on my emotions. Sometimes I ended up in a counselling role with the respondents without intending to do so.

Despite the permission from the NCST (National Council of Science and Technology) and local leadership, I was occasionally put at task to get specific permission from certain departments before I could be allowed access. This was common where I had to deal with chain of command in Prisons and the Police, and such permission was easily granted. Besides, some lower Local Councils were not receptive especially at the beginning of the fieldwork and wanted to impose their presence during interviews sessions. I had to take weeks and sometimes months of moving/waiting to have access to some villages, but when I was finally left to interact freely, all went on smoothly, and could even make appointments without such leaders. I had then become part of the communities.

All in all, I negotiated the risks that were involved in doing research in the setting on a daily basis. Having the police informed of my presence in the villages and involved in the research was very important, and reduced some of the risks that were associated with my fieldwork. I constantly sought help more so from the CID; Mbale offices which was readily extended. Overall, the data generation period was personally rewarding, challenging and an important learning experience, and the fundamental questions of the research were not altered despite the challenges faced.

2.4: 5 Ethical Considerations

There were ethical issues that I conceived prior to the field and during the actual fieldwork. I need to mention that it was not easy to anticipate and outline all of them except to say that ethical issues in this research were complex. I kept posing questions to myself from time to time in making ethical judgments in the face of unexpected challenges while conscious of my position as a social researcher.

Some of the questions were: how to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity of participants and avoid any harm to them; how to guarantee personal safety in the face of a sensitive subject that I was studying; what style of interview would make respondents comfortable and myself culturally acceptable, and at the same time yield data for my research; how to determine consent to be interviewed, right to use data generated; and right to interpret and analyse it or even publish this; and how to exercise moral responsibility with the perpetrators of violence so that justice is done? Facing the suspected perpetrators who justified their actions without remorse, and having a duty of protecting their confidentiality was such a dilemma for me. I chose to keep the identities of suspects confidential. Paying a fee before access to would be free public documentation was yet

another ethical issue I had to deal with. I had to pay a lesser bribe to a junior clerk in court to get me files which her superior had hidden as bait for a bribe. This was after permission to access the said files had been granted by the chief magistrate and a clerk was assigned to sort them out for me.

All in all, efforts were made to be ethically conscious in all respects and where emotional strain was evident, I took a rest to refresh the mind for some days. As earlier explained in data analysis, ethical considerations such as protecting anonymity and confidentiality of respondents as well as avoiding undue harm to participants was taken into consideration, and given first priority during and after the research. I therefore never attempted to put pressure on respondents at all. I also made necessary adjustments accordingly, and was always flexible in my approach. Informed consent was always sought verbally and respondents were not compelled to participate if they did not want to and were also free to withdraw from an interview session at their wish at any time. The fact that many respondents sought to remain anonymous in the report gave me the feeling that they generally understood the implications of participation in the study, and this I have respected throughout my research as well as during data compilation and analysis. Besides, a feminist ethics which analyses social oppression so as to empower women and minorities, and being accountable to peers, women's movement, feminists and participants in the research (Ollenburger and Moore, 1992) was an important beginning for me. The different views sought from different categories of participants as represented in this thesis provide a complex and nuanced view of managing violent conflicts and of ways of achieving sustainable peace. The fact that even minority voices are presented here goes a long way in enabling development workers and peace practitioners to appreciate the real meaning of scarcity, masculinity violent intra communal violence, in their search for sustainable peace for sustainable development in poor communities.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1:1 Introduction

This thesis, which explores an intra-communal conflict in Mbale district, seeks to establish the relationship between conflict management, sustainable peace and development. It does so through a focus on scarcity, masculinity, conflict dynamics and management. The concept of conflict is a very broad one and embraces many forms, including the economic, the social, the political, the psychological, the personal, as well as the interpersonal (Galtung, 2002; Sandole, 1993; Sandole and Merwe, 1998; Toure, 1999). A significant conclusion of this work, is that conflicts need not necessarily be negative. It is only when they are not well managed, when they spill over into violence (Jeong, 199B; Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Contel et al, 1999; Adedeji, 1999; Furley, 1995; Gurr, 1993), that negativity becomes apparent and a vicious cycle of conflict ensues.

This chapter thus investigates the pertinent literature concerned with the relationship between scarcity and masculinity, in order to explain the violent conflict dynamic, and its management. I analyse the catalysts of violence, which in the case of Mbale, appear through accusations of witchcraft that are allowed to fester and which, remaining unaddressed, cumulatively build as a pressure cooker that might explode into violence at any moment. The chapter then proceeds to a discussion of how ongoing conflict management and sustainable peace building can play a leading role in promoting peace and development, and considers how a gendered analysis of conflict and conflict management provides insights for conflict management and any sustainable scheme for peaceful development.

This thesis explores the importance of resource scarcity, masculinity, conflict management, sustainable peace and development. Scarcity refers to material deprivation, which, in order to act as a subjective force, must be understood as such either by individuals, communities, or both. Scarcity is thus a condition of inadequate and insufficient resources to meet the basic demands of life. This is a common phenomenon among marginalised communities of the world, which tend to be more common in less developed economies like Uganda's. This condition of deprivation exposes people to various searing forms of poverty, including atrocious living conditions. In Mbale, scarcity bred envy, anger, frustration, suspicion, conflict and violence. The concept of masculinity is a gender connotation, denoting attributions of characteristics that commonly define men and boys. Such characteristics include, but are not limited to, strength, vigour, boldness and violence.

Conflict is a more vague concept (Ahmed, 1986). Conflicts can either emerge according to prior practices that form part of the social structure, such as nuer blood feuds, or conversely, emerge as radical challenges demanding structural change. Radical conflicts, such as witnessed in our case study, can be complex, disturbing and confusing. Hence, any judgement of conflict situations must first comprehend the parties involved, as well as the degree of the conflict in question (ibid). Violence, on the other hand, entails acts of physical coercion, or their threat. An act of cruelty or abuse may also assume a non-physical form (Jacobson, Jacobs, and Marchbank, 2000; Tibatemwa, 1999). Violence is not only physical assaults and injuries, but can include the psychological and emotional damage that occurs through socio-economic deprivation (Bagshaw, 2003).

In the contemporary world, competition for scarce resources breeds conflicts. There is now a great deal of literature which foregrounds questions of inequalities, differential access to scarce resources and uncertainties (unfairness) caused by globalisation, and which recognises this as endemic violence (Hartman and Boyce, 1998; Galtung, 1996; Moran, 1996; Bissell, 1996; Suhrke, 1996; Fraser. and Hipel, 1984). This thesis situates the violence of the intra-communal conflict in Mbale within the structural and endemic violence encountered in the lives of the peoples there.

A conflict situation is therefore a state of antagonism, disagreement and incompatibility, which, unmanaged and unresolved, can result in violent conflict situations, as was the case for Mbale. Urguhart (1991) once described conflicts as normal human interactions in pursuit of the demands of life. However, he did castigate destructive conflict, advocating laws or social relations as means for their deterrence. Urguhart emphasised that such laws and norms would take time to be effective and would require continuous monitoring (Urguhart, 1991), thereby effectively advocating conflict management.

This thesis looks at the fragility and viability of the process and method of managing conflicts so as to deter violence. Here, violence refers to the use of force, power, harm and roughness in expressing fury and anger. Such forms of violence injure and destroy people and property, and affect development efforts in numerous ways. This may in turn reinforce structural-based violence; the harm done to a community due to structural problems of inequality, deprivation and injustice. It is therefore necessary that conflict management structures and initiatives [the use of various options in

conflictual situations] are instituted in order to mediate and settle peace between conflicting parties.

Peace is a rather complex process. In this thesis, peace refers to a state of freedom from hostilities, disorder, insecurity, quarrels and threat of war or violence. A peaceful situation is therefore a state of tranquillity, calm and harmony. The assumption throughout this study is that a peaceful environment is better than a conflictual one: peace creates conducive conditions that enable and sustain development activities. Hence, sustainable development must necessarily concern itself with methods of advancing, strengthening and maintaining a high quality growth and development. Sustainable development thus entails questions pertaining to socio-economic equity and political progress, both communally and nationally.

3.1:2 Conflict Situations in Mbale and Africa

A significant proportion of this chapter is devoted to the exploration of the literature that illuminates conflicts, be they masculine power relations, or conflict management processes that pertain to Mbale and to Africa at large. Heald's (1998, 1998) seminal anthropological work on Mbale highlights the importance of the cultural inculcation of masculine violence through the structural rituals of Gishu manhood. Heald has detailed different forms of violence among the Bagisu. This research, carried out between 1965 and 1968 in the sub-counties of Busano, Busoba, Busiu and Bushiende of Bungokho County, is highly relevant to this study.

In her work, 'controlling anger', Heald (1998) recounts the acts and place of violence in Bugisu. She analyses the patriarchal clan structures that informed the colonial stereotype for the Bagisu. Heald is particularly sensitive to how men gained that

reputation that ultimately led to such a terrible outcome, describing how violent masculinity among the Bagisu was given credence and legitimacy. Her later work (ibid, 1999) develops these themes by looking at morality and the issue of socially legitimised male dominance and power as a form of masculinity in its diverse forms and images.

Firstly, she considers 'the moral dilemmas faced by men whose very definition and self-conception is in terms of a capacity for violence. What is it to be a man (in Bugisu), a legitimate man, is the burning issue for, like in any hegemonic model, it defines in turn its own deviant forms of masculinity' (ibid, 1999:3). Heald thereby presents these men as a privileged gender 'with the powers of destructive violence' (ibid), an important contribution to gender relations and violence. This thesis' concern is not with colonial stereotypes of Gishu men (though these exist and require acknowledgement), but rather, with the effects of these men's definition according to the community's cultural mores, as strong, brave and independent.

Heald sees the Gishu circumcision ritual as a symbol of manhood that defines the men of the area as dangerous and violent. In this thesis, I examine the significance and potency of the circumcision songs that accompanied the killings during the violence. Secondly, Heald's incredibly important point that the Gishu 'recognises little authority, either indigenous or imposed' (ibid: 4), is examined fully. In this context, it is important to note that Heald recognised violence as a structural part of this community, not merely the outcome of economic hardships, but also beholden to other factors, including power vacuums in this community. This thesis thus examines

the lack of secure and legitimate mechanisms for containing conflict during the period of the 'witch violence' in chapter six.

Heald (1998) recognises the economic dimension of violence. She highlights, for example, cases of impoverished men (old men and the newly circumcised) who in their quest for social status and power become involved in intergenerational conflict. In a similar vein, she describes how kinship and inheritance breed conflict and violence between sons and fathers as they struggle for limited resources. Such an analysis reflects an anthropological theory of the lineage structure in Bugisu. This study reveals that accusations of violence were often directed towards the other halves in the community. In Bugisu, the structure of male clan elders is linked to the distribution of resources and political power in the community, presenting an interesting gender dimension. It is asserted that 'Gishu kin groups can offer no protection to their members' (Heald, 1998:8) in the face of hostility, and explicitly talks about a peacemaking mechanism (Bukkulo) that is characterised by both 'peace and hostility in a single relationship' (ibid:8). This present work has been expanded to show the fragility of conflict management structures in the area, 35 years after Heald's groundbreaking research.

My work has also investigated intergenerational conflict over resources through a close examination of the perpetrators of killings, the different voices that attempted to legitimise them and those opposed to the killings. This thesis thereby differentiates itself from an anthropological study, in its concentration on sociological factors within Gishu society, including structural factors that help explain how rituals validating violent masculinities interact with the process of felt deprivation and feelings of envy.

The ensuing sticky magma whereby some become 'identified' as witches, builds up under pressure until it erupts in subsequent killings. This therefore complicates the standard definition of witchcraft (as being against women primarily), revealing that in this area, witchcraft is more linked to issues of power between men and the realignment of said power.

Heald has also argued that the Bagisu's harsh reaction to trouble makers, including witches, has not developed- as one might have supposed- in response to ecological changes and an increasing demand for scarce land resources. She suggests, rather, that other factors were responsible for such social trends. In particular, she notes that the power vacuum left after the demise of colonialism, may well be an important influence for the violent reactions towards trouble makers in the area. Heald's work in Mbale thus directs us to important considerations that have been fully explored in this thesis.

Whilst it is beyond the remit of this study to examine the cause of African conflict *per se*, the background history of the continent enables a better understanding of conflict situations and the implications of violence and efforts towards peace that inform the African context. This is particularly true for countries such as Uganda, where there is a serious danger of state collapse that must clearly be comprehended in relation to the history of state formation on the continent, where decision making centres have often been paralysed and rendered inoperative due to the lack of 'fit' (Alao, 1999; Odunuga, 1999; Debiel, 2002; Zartman, 1995 and Ngwane, 1996).

The causes of conflict in Africa have variously been attributable to economic, political, environmental, social and cultural issues (Odunugu, 1999; Adedeji Adebayo, 1999; Ahmed, 1999; Mudoola, 1989), which have lesser or greater explanatory power for current trends on the continent. Bayart (1993), for example, observed that the World Bank policies in Africa are often stimulants for revolution there, especially when legitimising wars in the name of justice are undertaken in order to gain access to, or control, the resources of the state in question. Alao, (1999) for example, argues that conflicts on the continent are caused by superpower fears, rivalry and the arms race. Eccles (1983), by contrast, stresses the role of multi national corporations in a setting that still carries the scars of neo-colonialism, as the major causes for economic and security problems.

A general scenario of state failure, together with the related crises of legal and judicial systems, makes the management of conflicts acutely difficult, according to Heintze (2002), Mamdani (2001), and Freitag-Wirringhaus (2002). The causes adumbrated for continued conflicts in Africa are subsequently perceived as embedded, many and varied. These include an acute failure of the state, a lack of respect for the rule of law, human rights violations, and the forces of neo-colonialism that lead to crippling debt burdens, with their concomitant strain on resources ('Blame the Victim' Summit, 2002; Adedeji, 1999; Ayittey, 1992; Bozeman, 1976; Mazrui, 1998, Mamdani, 2001; Pankhurst, 1999C; Pankhurst, 1996). Here, the question of how the African situation became extant is crucial, generating an acknowledgment of the historical factors that inform the continent's present socio-economic situation. This research has developed this thinking by analysing why the conflict situation in Mbale took the course it did. We have thus taken due account of Ahmed's (1986) approach, which regards history

as a basis for sociology for understanding contemporary beliefs that ground events. And this is because beliefs form the basis for social attitudes and relations that accompany subsequent historical actions or events.

It was estimated that in 1998, out of 200 violent conflicts in the world, 72 were on the African continent (Tongeren 1998). Even if Tongeren (ibid) views western stereotypical perceptions of Africa as being ingrained with the media's perceptions of African crises, the problem of violent conflicts is a real one, not merely a pure African problem, but one that reflects a historical crisis in human relations more widely. For Adedeji (1999) and Odunuga (1999), the problem is one of leadership, with Africa suffering from a lack of real leaders, able to unify in the sense of the African chief who is capable of binding everybody together and collectively mobilising communities towards a common goal for a common purpose.

The question of governance is paramount to violence escalation and the management of socio-economic and political development. The most celebrated contributions of Adedeji, 1999; Odunuga, 1999; Scharf, 1998; Zartman, 1997, 2001 are key to this understanding. In considering the relationship between conflict management and sustainable peace and development, this thesis looks at the socio-economic and political situation of the area and how the general underdevelopment, including leadership problems, shaped the dynamics of the violence in Mbale.

Both the better management of conflict, and the possibility of a sustainable peace, depend on good leadership at both local and national levels. The challenge of leadership is an urgent problem for the African continent, as acknowledged and

highlighted by Contel, 1999; Adedeji, 1999; Mudola, 1989; Mamdani, 2001 and Omara-Otunnu, 1987. The situation in Mbale is no different in this respect, exacerbated, no doubt, by the challenge of resource availability and utilisation.

In addition, 'local' conflicts rarely remain local (Alao1999, Adedeji, 1999, Gurr, 1993, and Midlarsky, 1993), as was instantiated in Mbale, where the violent situation meant that both survivors and perpetrators were often forced to seek refuge in neighbouring Kenya, thus turning an initially intra communal and local conflict into one with regional implications. The Mbale intra communal violence led to an exodus of people, fleeing to neighbouring Kenya and to towns in Uganda; some of whom have yet to return. It also led to a standstill in economic and social operations at the time, and to serious socio-economic and political damage that is not easily quantifiable.

By pointing to the limitations of the justice system in the great lakes region (Uganda is part of the great lakes region), Nabudere (2002) highlights important issues hitherto ignored in conflict management, sustainable peace and development problems. This thesis also underscores the situation where laws were abrogated in support of vested interests. The emphasis on the descriptive analysis of how courts work and the legal methodology that surrounds the justice system has meant that very few efforts have been directed to developing the theoretical perspective of the justice/law relation and operation.

In chapter two, I outlined the complexities of court work. Chapter six details the question of accessibility to justice and how this shaped the conflict management and peace process in the area before and after the violence. Baldwin (2000) propounded

three theoretical approaches to the working of courts. The variations on conflict theory are used to explain why the economically powerless are unlikely to receive a fair deal from state bureaucracies, including the judiciary. The justice process therefore reinforces and exacerbates social inequalities, especially when the vulnerable and poor, who comprise the majority of criminal defendants, are likely to be disadvantaged. The Mbale justice system and the local leadership during and after the violence accords with Baldwin's analysis, and the question of scarcity as important for understanding the dimensions of the violence and the violence management that took place during and after the violence.

Secondly, the traditional representation of the criminal process as concerned with establishing the '*truth*', is challenged, on the basis that truth is socially constructed and refracted through the process of 'interpretation', addition, subtraction, selection and reformulation, rendering the facts of the prosecution's case as moot. In the case of Mbale, victims and perpetrators often saw justice as having not been done. After all, truth is not a reality, but is influenced by those with the power to define the nature of the problems being explored (ibid). The poor in the case of Mbale are incapacitated in many ways [due to poverty], unable to influence- because of the lack of the requisite court language and terminology- problems through the court system.

Thirdly, the concept of 'court culture', which was developed by the developed world to explain disparities in the procedures and decision making from court to court, is foreign to the local context. This thesis has contributed to understanding the meaning of court judicial justice to the rural communities of Mbale and how this explains the resort to violence by those in a community that had lost its faith in the justice system.

To the rural community of Mbale, the judicial justice system is seen as the purveyor of injustice and frustration. Bottomley's presumption, as quoted by Baldwin (2000), that defendants will plead not guilty and be tried by a jury, is in practice, misguided. Such cases are the rare exception, with many decisions seemingly influenced by the principle of the assumption of guilt, by courts dealing with both violent and non-violent conflict.

Baldwin (2000) explains that doing court research involves more than merely watching whatever takes place in the courtroom. His assertion is that judicial hostility is a real problem for the researcher, such as I, who would analyse the effectiveness of the justice in times of both peace and conflict. My experience of Ugandan courts was of their receptiveness, except when dealing with lower level clerks, whose attitude in the courts seem to be that of 'man eats where he works'. The main challenges, though, were bureaucracy, representation, language and physical accessibility that made accessibility much more difficult for the poor and rural peoples of Mbale.

Toure notes that those who engage in African conflicts are primarily young people who regard violence as a way of life and as a means of asserting their social status (Toure, 1998). In Mbale, it was indeed the young people who massacred others. According to Mulinde-Musoke and Malime wa Wa Gamusi (1996), young men under the influence of alcohol carried out the massacres, though it was planned with elders who sanctioned and blessed these youths to kill those they deemed 'witches' in their communities.

3.1:3 Resource Scarcity and Conflict Dynamics

This relationship between resource deprivation and conflict management that is central to this thesis, means that the importance of economics comes to the fore. Economics cannot easily be separated from issues of resources allocation, neither at the socio-cultural nor the political level, whether these questions be at the micro, mesa, macro and mega levels; from the household to global relations. Aall (2000) has observed that, although images of enemies and stereotypes about identities create conflicts as was the case of witches in Mbale- these are insufficient explanations for violence. Conflict, however, can trigger violence among groups under conditions of scarcity. Culturally and physically similar groups may generate hostility and aggression towards one another when competing for scarce resources, since relative deprivation seem to be the most important condition for participation in collective violence in intra-community situations (ibid: 96; Acker, 2005; Pankhurst, 1996; Pankhurst, 1999C; Conteh, et al., 1999). Thus, inequality can spur violence and weaken the inhibitions against aggression, as well as acting to legitimise the violence against people considered worthless. And those who are made to feel worthless sometimes resort to violence as a means of gaining self respect or power (World Bank 1998; Cockburn, 2001). Easterly and Levine (1997) document the adverse effect of ethno linguistic fractionalization, on income, growth, and economic policies, and offer this as an explanation for Africa's poor growth performance, which in turn provides a bedrock for violence.

Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx were all interested in how economic and social gains can be increased and shared in a society so as to maximise development and equity. Cypher and Dietz have said 'development is about realising very fundamental human values and about finding the means to extend the fruits of these

values to the greatest majority of the world's population' (Cypher and Dietz, 1997:8); raising the issue of equity and equitable resource distribution. These values include, although they are not limited to, 'the opportunity for meaningful employment and the possibility to provide for ones self and family; sufficient food, shelter and other amenities for a decent life above the poverty line; the opportunity for pursuing education and the increased quality of life it promises; reasonable level of health care; social security for old age; democracy and political participation in the life of the community and society; equal treatment under the law and in the economy for all, regardless of race, gender, religion, nationality, or other such differences; individual dignity and so on!' (ibid:8).

Todaro (1994) explains that the first priority of moving from a state of underdevelopment to one of development must be that of raising people's levels of living, addressing issues such as low income, poor health and education. It is no wonder that low productivity, low incomes and low levels of living are mutually reinforcing phenomena (ibid), and that development efforts cannot thrive under conditions of violent conflict, hence the need for peace. Of course such patterns of development are scarce in the Mbale context and poverty is very evident. And just as with other parts of the world, as analysed by UNDP in 1995, poverty has a woman's face...of 1.3billion people in poverty, 70% are women' (Cypher and Dietz, 1997:5). Whether people in Mbale are violent because they are poor or whether poverty prevails because of violence is not the key issue of my research. Instead, the thesis emphasises that suspicion arose due to development questions and suspected 'witches' were targeted for being responsible for these underdevelopment patterns in the area. Violence, in other words, was aimed at eradicating or responding to problems of

poverty; scarcity, deprivation, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and infertility (all of which are markers of under development). I explain this in detail in chapter four of the thesis.

Nevertheless, violent conflict in turn impacts upon development efforts. This is because, 'to have authentic and enduring development, there would need to be a sustainable increase in the incomes and consumption of the poor; a transfer of income from the non-poor to the poor cannot be, and should not be considered as the long term goal. Permanent transfers of income are not solutions to the poverty problem, though they may be used as short-term remedial measures to relieve immediate suffering. Greater productivity of labour and better distribution of the world's productive resources, both human and physical, are what are needed to effect a long-term decrease in the poverty profile' (ibid). Hence, attaining sustainable development presents a challenge for the socio-economic and political will and for structural reform.

Sustainable development needs to be conceived as a multi-dimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes and institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty (Todaro, 1994). Development thus entails an entire gamut of changes that emerge as a social system grapples with a widely perceived unsatisfactory condition and moves towards a materially and spiritually better life. Therefore, greater equality and access to resources may be a precondition for sustainable development and peace, since poor living conditions, as manifested in poor health, nutrition, education and unemployment in Mbale, lowers productivity, creating a vicious cycle of poverty

which leads to under development. The accusations and victimisation that occurred in Mbale were directed at those 'witches' whose living standards were higher than others in the community. The concern with high death rates, extreme poverty and deprivation precipitated violence as a means of accounting for and preventing misfortune, yet the socio-economic and political structures remained intact.

3.2: 1 Masculinity, Scarcity, Violence and Conflict Management

In this section, I examine the interconnections between the concepts of masculinity, scarcity and violence in conflict management for development. Conflict management and peace need to focus on both the subjectivist and the objectivist notion of conflict. Only then is a comprehensive understanding of conflict as pertaining to a specific structure of socio-economic and political reality, for a particular, given situation, accessible (Dedring, 1976). Dedring (ibid) views exploitation and deprivation as central for the diagnosis of structural violence. Galtung's theory of structural violence draws on useful interconnections between violent situations (Galtung, 1996). Galtung cites different forms of violence that may not involve direct killing, but which may yet lead to a slow death. Such inaction, because it ignores the problems, may be considered as intentional killing. Galtung here cites such examples as a lack of medical attention, malnutrition, deprivation and exploitation, all of which hit the weakest first, including children, women, the poor and the elderly. The Mbale situation was one marred by just such forms of violence; hence structural violence provided an ideal breeding ground for the explosion of physical violence.

Galtung explicitly addresses exploitative violence: here, the victim's life remains intact at the cost of her freedom and identity that are sacrificed in desocialisation and resocialisation programmes and through prohibitions and impositions of different

forms. Structural violence in the case of Mbale enables the top-dogs [the rich] to satisfy more of their needs from their interactions than the others, the underdogs [the majority poor] who form the majority. As Galtung vividly reminds us, the underdogs were at times so disadvantaged that many were starving and wasting away from malnutrition, disease and unexplained deaths due to scarcity and deprivation (ibid). In this thesis both the subjectivity and objectivity of the violence are considered. Galtung's elucidation of structural violence is clearly evident and has a direct bearing on the 1995-96 violence in Mbale. Those involved in acts of violence [the underdogs] were questioning the violence of exploitation and deprivation, fearing that those who were better off [top-dogs] had magical powers that could effect outcomes. This thesis is centrally located within this conceptual framework of scarcity due to deprivation and a socially constructed violent masculinity. Such conditions were propitious for and fuelled a fear of witchcraft, just as was described by Heald's analysis of the Gishu [the people of Mbale] (Heald, 1998).

Heald described a growing fear of physical violence, witchcraft and theft in Mbale. Consequently, in their (Bagisu) quest to come to terms with this situation (which may be considered as approaching anarchy), the Bagisu formed vigilante groups in an attempt to reconstitute a moral basis for community life (ibid). This is exemplified by the acts of the young men during the 1995-96 violence in Mbale. Mbiti (1969) has rightly observed that while an African can readily externalise spontaneous feelings of joy, love, friendship and generosity, as evidenced in daily interactions even with strangers, Africans equally have the ability to experience and externalise other natural emotions, such as hatred, fear, envy, jealousy, suspicion and revenge (ibid).

Whilst one may consider Heald's (1998) statement, that fear drives violence, to be overly simplistic, this may yet help explain why the young men turned against their own folk. At first sight this appears counterintuitive: why, for example, were the targets elderly [50 years old and beyond] and mainly men? However, we see here that Heald's fears, constructed in relation to the perceived existence of witches, becomes manifest also in their (witches) ability and power to negatively affect others socio-economic and political progress, for which the issues of masculinity and scarcity become evident as interwoven into this scenario. This thesis therefore moves the debate from this mere fear of witchcraft to the fear of the perceived implications of witchcraft, violent masculinities and resource deprivation. It is not thus, the fear of witchcraft that created and sustained conflicts and violence in Mbale. Rather, it is the fear of the perceived consequences of witchcraft and the effects of a violent masculinity embedded in the Gishu culture amidst scarcities. It is thus the fear of the resultant effects of witchcraft activities, such as unexplained deaths, unemployment, the infertility of soil (leading to poor yields), deprivation and the failure of children to complete their schooling that were the key issues for the people involved in the violent acts.

Masculinity was central to the conflict situation in Mbale, thereby giving credence to theoretical assertions of the relationship between masculinity and violence in society (Cleaver, 2002, Dolan, 2002, Bujra, 2002, Doyle, 2002, Thomson, 2002, Hatty, 2000, Moser and Clark, 2001). Quoting Toomey, 1992, Hatty (2000:3) sums up the issue of masculinity and violence in these words, 'to be gentle is to be a whip, a weak excuse for a man, an object of derision, and ridicule'. Thus, 'violence is still the prerogative of the youthful male, especially when confronted by the contradictions and paradoxes

of thwarted desire and personal and social disempowerment (to actualise male expectations). Reaching deep into the historical and cultural storehouse of masculinity, a young man may still retrieve the ultimate tool of manly self-assertiveness: omnipotence through violence' (ibid: 6) as was the case in the Mbale situation. Hence, violent masculinity as portrayed by Heald's work on the Bagisu [violent masculinity as promoted by the culture of circumcision] openly manifested itself in the violent conflict dynamics [as evidenced by circumcision songs] of the Mbale violence.

An important contribution made by Galtung (1996) regarding the impact of structural violence that is embedded in exploitative and discriminatory structures as evident in the ordinary daily lives of the poor in the developing world like Uganda, brings out the important question of scarcity and violence. These structural processes usually work slowly, causing misery, poverty and hunger, damaging and cutting short the lives of those adversely affected (just as with violent conflicts). These structural forms of violence are heavily embedded in world systems that separate the world's poor from the privileged rich, a form of violence that is deeply rooted in the political economy of the globe.

This thesis thus situates the Mbale violence within the structural violence of life, whereby scarcity of resources, inequalities of life chances and violent masculinity embedded in the culture of strong and autonomous manhood, led to the 'witches' being targeted as the harbingers of ill-fortune. For the case of Mbale, I do not then, adhere to a purely 'cultural' or anthropological view of witchcraft beliefs, nor do I engage much with the anthropology of witchcraft, for this would entail, in terms of peace building, to changing attitudes and beliefs. I look closely at the social, political

and personal reasons given for the violence by the peoples of Mbale, and I situate the fears, frustrations and anger that erupted as violence against those identified as 'witches' in a materialist analysis of deprivation, scarcity and violent masculinity. This thesis has moved beyond Heald's (1998) theory of the fear of witchcraft, to issues of deprivation, frustration, envy, anger, revenge, leadership and autonomous manhood. The thesis thereby emphasises the interplay of various sources of conflict, and argues for their effective management in order to prevent violence. Consequently, the peace-building strategies in the aftermath of violence in Mbale should aim at establishing responsible social, economic and political networks for the facilitation of normal civilian life.

There is an intimacy between feminist politics and peace politics: both are critical of, and committed to, the elimination of coercive systems of domination as a basis of interaction between individuals and groups. A feminist critique, as well the requirements of a sustainable peace process (as is the case with this study), is ultimately a critique of systems of unjustified domination, as observed by Warren and Cady (1996). Likewise, the achievement of a feminist justice is centrally related to the pursuit of peace, such that one cannot consistently pursue peace without pursuing feminist justice as well (Sterba, 1996). A present lacuna in some feminist writings, however, is a lack of attentiveness to issues of sustainable development in the developing world. Notwithstanding, there are feminist writings on conflict and development in Uganda that address just these issues (Bainomugisha, 1999; Snyder, 2000; Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, 1999; PEAP, 2005, Alerotek, 2004).

Management is vital in the distribution and allocation of resources at different levels. It is at different management levels that decisions that directly affect society are made. A close look at people at different management structures, including those of conflict management, reveals the predominance of men. Such gender bias means that women's issues tend to be ignored or overlooked and this despite the widespread recognition, as evidenced in world bank reports, for example, that women constitute the majority of the poor. This does nothing to attenuate the situation of those who are more vulnerable to the effects of scarcity and poverty than their male counterparts. Efforts that focus on gender are central to the development matrix. In Uganda, for example, women are not aware of their rights as enshrined in the law (Mwaka, 1994 as quoted by Bainomugisha, 1999).

I focus on a gender analysis in this thesis, not as an all woman issue, but as a development issue that concerns both women and men, the young and old of this community. The recognition and use of a gender analysis was therefore not only necessary, but important for this thesis. The unequal gender relations emanating from the roles which men and women occupy amongst the Bagisu means that women have less access to resources (in the fullest sense of this term), and less control over decision making, despite the socio-economic responsibilities they must endure.

There has hitherto been a tendency for gender and conflict researchers to focus exclusively on the experiences of women in war, without due regard to both sexes. However, not all women are victims, nor are all men guilty of violence related crimes. Thus, there is a need to target both gender strata if best practices in conflict management and peace are to be enacted for conflict situations. Cockburn once

emphasised that 'just as using a gendered lens makes a difference to what you see of war and peace, so applying a gender analysis in decision making could make a difference to what you do about it (Cockburn, 2001; see also Rowan-Campbell, 1999). This is an important consideration for this thesis, as it explicitly reaffirms a sensitivity to gender differences that comprehends men and women as having (had) different experiences, needs, strength and skills. To ignore gender issues for the construction of effective peacebuilding and sustainable peace development in post conflict situations, is no longer possible (Moser, 2001; Pankhurst, 1999B; Pankhurst and Pearce, 1998).

A gender perspective must take account of gender view points; in data generation, analysis and reporting, so as to ensure gender sensitive reporting as a step towards gender justice, recognition and equity. Since 'women all experience marginalisation in society' (Cockburn, 1998), they remain generally more sensitised to other inequalities that exist in the world, including deprivation. The gender perspective employed in this study considered men and women from their different perspectives in order to understand their concerns, yet re-integrated the two in order to act positively on what may have been understood (Rowan-Campbell, 1999) in managing conflicts for sustaining peace and development. This helps in the understanding of gendered realities and the experiences as recounted by those who were involved in violence escalation, as well as in violence management. Like violence, peace too is gendered. Moser, (2001) argues that the processes of sustainable peace and development need to incorporate a gender perspective that requires developing a gendered framework as an entity in itself.

A gender analysis thus assists us in identifying how men and women are differently affected by violence. This permits the identification of underlying structural factors relating to resources allocation, inequality and exclusion. A gender analysis of the costs and consequences of conflict and violence allows for the assessment of the manner in which violence erodes or reconstitutes physical, human, natural and social capital, and helps in the development of a strategy to mitigate adverse effects of conflict and violence by looking at the capacity of men and women to impact on positive change in developing economies. The practice, as evidenced in this study, is that women are under represented at all formal structures of peace and justice, have no control over useful resources, and are constrained from full participation in decision making.

It is important to note that women were not simply victims of violence, but sometimes went as far as instigating violence themselves (Mukta 2000; Butalia 2002; Kelly 2000 and McIlwaine 2000 in Moser 2001 and Warren and Cady, 1996 for the Mbale situation). This complex view of the differential positions women occupy in both the processes of violence and the achievement of peace, are very important in the building of structures for peace and development. Some women in Mbale were victims, others were sympathisers of the perpetrators. Though women were not directly involved in direct combat and physical violence during the Mbale violence, some of them believed such actions could be just (Warren and Cady, 1996), thereby giving support to modes of violent masculinity. This underlines the fact that, in order for peace and development to be sustained, men's and women's real experiences and attitudes in times of violence need to be studied, rather than assumed. If women had not been socialized as feminine and non-violent [an inability to show rage], then those women

who believed in others' witchcraft would have reacted violently; something that is socially permitted only to the male in this society. This indicates the way in which values and norms dictate different forms of masculinity and violence for different genders under different social settings.

Feminist theory argues that all forms of violence are gendered. That is to say, they stem from, and sometimes reinforce, gendered roles as determined by society. These roles are then institutionalised in militarism and in the ethos of scientific and military research, including conflict management and peace (Brock-Utne, 1985, as quoted by Humm, 1992). Humm further argues that feminism should thus be active, not contemplative, so as to transform human life and create a peaceful world. She believes that values and women's capacity for mothering provide an ethical alternative to male aggression, which, when fully harnessed, can transform the whole society (Humm, 1992). The exemplary alternatives underscore the fact that there is nothing inherently 'natural' about either the 'peaceful' woman or the violent man.

Whilst women may have a bigger stake in peace because of their assumed role as carers and nurturers, not all women can be regarded as pro-peace. Re-evaluating the view that sees women as mothers and therefore powerless, as objects rather actors, allows for a more truthful picture to emerge. The different potentials of men and women according to their gender need to be made explicit, so that men are no longer assumed to be representative of humanity as whole (Witz, 1997). Once we begin to view violence through a feminist lenses, we shall see things differently, comprehending the different positions of women and men in violent settings that may allow for a full comprehension of the interconnection between feminism and peace

(Warren and Cady, 1996). Whilst the women of Mbale may seem to be at the periphery structurally, conflict management and a sustainable peace process cannot afford to ignore them, as peace can only be achieved if all parties to the conflict are involved in decision making, including women and other marginalized groups. This study, hence, moves beyond the view that sees women as the sole victims of violence to a more complex view of both women and men as victims and perpetrators, one that views both genders as integral partners for peace building and development.

This thesis thus recognises the important input of gender based perspectives for research on development issues in the recent past. These, most notably, have established the significance of gender as a central dimension of poverty (Agarwal 1990; Kabeer 1994 in Kabeer Naila, 1999) and deprivation. Violent conflicts are detrimental to poverty eradication, wealth creation processes and development. Schemes aimed at reducing or preventing violent conflicts and promoting sustainable peace in communities need to understand and appreciate gender differences as well as taking due account of them in formulating and implementing social, economic and political policies in the developing world (Bridge Bulletin, August, 2003). Poverty and scarcity retards socio-economic and political development because it affects the savings base and has consequences for investment. Hence, all development requires that women as well as men are actors in making decisions that lead to peace and development (Kabeer, 1999), either as individuals or communally.

3.2: 2 Intra communal violence

Most scholars have dealt with violent conflict phenomenon in inter community and inter or intra state situations. Violence from within a community, on its own members, has been relatively ignored. It has generally been assumed that a 'normal' community

represents a situation of co-existence and harmony, and that the community fabric works to enhance cooperation, conflict management and peace. This is especially thought to be true where members of a group are believed to belong to a closely integrated community; where everyone knows everyone else, and are accustomed to working together, sharing and helping each other in times of need (Hartman and Boyce, 1998). Mazrui (1998), for example, asserts that violence is more likely in situations where two ethnic identities are inter-mixed, hence societies with ethnic dualities are more prone to violence. These assumptions were disproved by the violence in the Mbale area, where people previously closely allied as members of the either same clan and tribe turned against their kith and kin, in a brutal violence that left many scars.

The analyses of communal conflicts as arising from questions of ethnic identity (from Gusfield's, 1996 to Ryan's 1990 group identity, to Brass, 1991), argue that these are a manifestation of modernising societies undergoing dramatic changes (In Jeong, 1999B; Vayrynen, 1999). According to these accounts, communal conflicts can generally be explained as occurring through problems of identity, an explanation that is unsatisfactory for what took place in Mbale. Here, the antagonism was amongst the same group of people from one locality, sharing the same ethnicity and kinship. The study looks at the complex processes whereby a group of people became identified as suspected witches in a relatively short span of time by the rest of the community, and the difficulties entailed in differentiating the victims from the perpetrators under any clear gender or power categories.

Anderlini and Stanski have argued that, regardless of the circumstances- be they political oppression, poverty or the like- communal violence can never erupt suddenly (Anderlini and Stanski, 2004). They view communal violence as a manifestation of accumulated aggression and hostility, and emphasise that this necessitates addressing the hostile mistrust and belligerence before it becomes violent. The Mbale situation conforms to this analysis, since all parties- the victims, the media, the courts, the police and the local leadership- strongly believe the Mbale violence to have been a manifestation of unresolved social conflicts which needed to be managed. Although Anderlini and Stanski's analysis is not one that pertains to a purely intra communal situation, they nevertheless provide interesting insights to the manifestation of violence and conflict prevention through their adoption of a gendered analysis. My thesis adopts a gender perspective, in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) which reaffirms the need to include a gender perspective in conflict prevention and resolution so as to support women's peace initiatives and indigenous conflict resolution process. This resolution, among other things, calls for women's representation at different levels of policy (Sikoska, and Solomon, 2000).

3.2:3 Conflict Management

Zartman defines the concept of conflict management as efforts tailored to getting rid of violence-related means of resolving conflict, so that conflicts are continuously dealt with politically as opposed to militarily (Zartman, 1997). An important component of this process is that of conflict transformation, referring to efforts aimed at replacing a conflict situation with positive relationships, a process that is inherently political in that it entails negotiating difficult issues of punishment, restitution, reconciliation, forgiveness and justice.

The shared view of Bretherton and Bornstein, 2003, Peck, 1996, Andranovich and Riposa, 2003, and Hassner, 1995, advocates the necessity of a thorough analysis of the sources of conflicts if conflict management and peace are to be anticipated or negotiated. Comprehending the views and beliefs of different parties is prerequisite to sustainable strategies for conflict management and peace. A major task of my thesis was precisely the attempt to capture people's varying perceptions of the underlying sources of the Mbale violence, so as to ensure that the recommendations took due account of all of these.

Conflict management, therefore, does not aim at conflict elimination, but rather at employing strategies that untangle irreconcilable objectives in a positive manner so as to deter violence and the vicious cycle of hatred that can lead to (Helms, 2000) violence in a post conflict setting. Peace building thereby becomes an ongoing process that calls for constant evaluation and flexibility in order to be truly productive and effective. Victor and Borissoff (in *ibid*) identified five A's of conflict management; Assessment, Acknowledgement, Attitude, Action, and Analysis. These permit a sustained ongoing process oriented towards problem solving for conflict management, an attitude that is extremely relevant to the pursuit of a sustainable peace. This thesis, in its seeking of explanations to the sources of the violent conflict and through its analysis of how it was handled, aids this process of the creation of possible paradigms for best conflict management practices in the future.

The concept of conflict management should therefore be comprehended and acknowledged as a process that embraces many actors and various activities at all times (Salim, 1998), all of which are factors that should input into conflict prevention,

peacemaking, peace-building, and peacekeeping (ibid). In a situation where there is good governance and adequate resource facilitation at different leadership and institutional levels, conflict management is easily blended into socio-economic and political structures. It is the state's duty and responsibility to nurture such a process to effect the production of the expected results. The coordination and cooperation of different structures at different levels is therefore paramount, over and above peace and conflict management departments and structures that exist in isolation. However, where existing state structures like the police and judiciary are either unable or unwilling to play ball, then very profound questions of justice, legality and the rule of law come to the fore.

Another approach was propounded by Boulding, who was pessimistic about the prospects of leaving peace management to the state; advocating instead a strong role for civil society, including NGOs. This does not, however, mean that the state should leave its obligation of protecting its citizens to civil society. He explained that for men and women to work together, a profound cultural change is necessary (Boulding in Sandole and Merwe, 1993). Indeed, for him, social change is the sine qua non for deterring violence, attaining sustainable peace and for development. Where there is a lack of political will, however, at either the local or national level, a collective effort is vital for breaking the policy-makers' reluctance. Hence the urgent necessity to build bridges between rulers and civilian authorities at all times in the peace struggle for sustainable development.

Grandvoinnet and Schneider are strong advocates for the role of civil society in managing conflicts in Africa (Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998). Florini and

Simmons too clearly recognise the power and effectiveness of civil society in key decision making, even for the international stage, whilst at the same time acknowledging the demands on governance which drain the resources available to states for the effective management of economies (Florini and Simmons, 2000). The main question here is how these civil societies can be effective across national borders, since conflicts whether state, inter communal or even intra communal have direct effects on others outside their area of operation, including across national borders.

Studies by Galtung, 1996, 2002, Hassner, 1995, Joeng, 1999A, 2000, 2002, Contel et al, 1999, Boutrous-Ghali, 1995B, explicitly assert that peace can be achieved through a series of already existing structures and practices in society, such as dialogue, administrative structures, legal, educational and political infrastructures, which allow for the organic development of peace as a bottom-up process, rather than one arising as an outcome emerging from foreign policy favours, as is the case in most developing economies like Uganda's. This allows peace to be negotiated and grown from within, with supportive political structures, thereby creating a situation whereby the collective citizenry cultivates attitudes and skills that serve the sustenance of peace, justice and equity, and sustainable development. Andranovich and Riposa, 2003, note that conflict management is successful when participants in the process are satisfied that the outcomes were the best possible ones which meet the needs of all participants in ways that satisfy all parties. Gray, 1990, Andranovich and Riposa 2003, and Cruikshank, 1987, have explained that consensus (in peace building) does not mean a 'love fest', but a commitment and tenacity by all stakeholders to arrive at a workable solution. And one way of doing this is listening to all parties on the issues

pertaining to the conflict situation, and its aftermath, for the purpose of assessing the management of the conflict, as was done in this thesis.

There is now a good deal of literature that goes beyond a simple state led approach to conflict management, particularly in developing countries (Galtung, 2000, Leenders, 1999, Debiel, 2002, in Debiel and Klein, 2002; Veen, 1998). The main argument of these scholars is the need for a multi dimensional approach that is owned by all parties involved, stretching from the grass roots levels to other levels, harnessing relevant social structures, political parties and both genders, in order to attain sustainable peace. Veen, (1998) in advocating for this integrated approach, calls for the support of local people, their organisations and indigenous mechanisms in conflict resolution strategies, recognising the fact that conflict prevention is difficult to implement, but attainable. This is an interesting argument, which this thesis adheres to insofar as records the experiences of rural women, a group which would otherwise be ignored since they do not constitute part of the major decision making organs in the traditional setting, and occupy marginal positions in the formal sector at all levels in Mbale and in Uganda at large.

Whilst 'traditional' structures, such as tribal councils and the councils of elders, together with other practices, such as public restitution and public acts of forgiveness, have been deemed viable alternatives in conflict management (ibid, Brand-Jacobsen and Jacobsen, 2000, Ngwane, 1999, Lund, 1999, Peck, 1999, Landsberg and Mackay, 1999), they have also been seen as a possible means for the revival of peace on the African continent. Such analyses are important because they argue from outside the litigation system by opting for culturally acceptable alternatives. For the purposes of

this study, these traditional structures, although evident in Mbale, were indeed unable to contain and manage the violence. Chapter six examines the question of why existing structures failed to manage the conflict, and whether and how such traditional institutions can be effective in containing violence. The traditional structures in Mbale appear to have become eroded with the weakening and corresponding deterioration in the social, economic and political fabric of the area. Therefore, a view seeking a 'traditional structure can not be entirely successful because it falls short of comprehensive measure for addressing deteriorating socio-economic and political fabrics.' I would thus support a more comprehensive view that aims at incorporating any feasible or possible alternative to sustainable peace, whatever its nature or source in the conflict management and sustainable peace initiatives.

3.2: 4 Conflict Management for Sustainable Peace and Development

The ultimate goal of this study is the attainment and sustainability of peace for sustainable development in less developed economies like Uganda's. Galtung, Jacobsen and Brand-Jacobsen, (2003) define peace as the ability to handle conflict with empathy, non-violence and creativity. They explain that much violence is due to the mishandling of conflict, which allows it to fester like a deep wound. Peace is also thought to be a political *modus vivendi*, characterised by the absence of direct violence as well as the presence of political liberty and social justice (Senghaas, 1987). Galtung (1996) further defines peace as the absence or reduction of all forms of violence, including physical and structural violence, and advocates for the non-violent transformation of conflicts that would allow peace to thrive.

Genuine peace therefore involves an interaction between and among individuals and groups at all levels, as recognised by Salim (1998), where behaviour is orderly from

within, cooperative and based on agreement, hence denoting not merely the absence of war or a negative peace. Instead, it is a process and reality for which life affirming, self-determining, environmentally sustainable ends are sought and accomplished through coalitionary, interactive and cooperative means (Warren and Cady, 1996). Peace is thus said to be the capacity to transform conflicts constructively and without violence in a never-ending process (ibid; Pankhurst, 1999B), one that needs to be owned by those involved if it is to be sustained. Hence, there is a need to rethink the narrow definition of peace by embracing a more enlarged concept. Negative peace situations need to be managed and transformed into positive and sustainable peace in the long-run, otherwise such situations risk succumbing to a vicious cycle of violence and subsequent under development.

Tongeren emphasised the concept of a multi-track diplomacy strategy, a term coined by John McDonald in striving for peace. McDonald is reported to have categorised the actors in peace as governments, professional organisations, the business community, churches, media, private citizens, training and educational institutes, activists, and funding organisations (Tongeren, 2002). Rupesinghe (in ibid) adds that second-track diplomacy involves eminent persons, women's groups, youth groups and artists: a citizen based, multi-track approach that is generally regarded as an answer to multi-causes of conflicts, as was the case for the intra communal violence in Mbale. Veen moved beyond Tongeren, identifying eighteen different techniques for transforming conflict situations into cooperative action: these included mediation, facilitation, skill training, TV and radio production, equal opportunity programmes for police and military forces, community organisation and cross-ethnic investigative reporting (Veen, 1998). These parties can either act in unison, or individually,

depending on the stage and the nature of the conflict. I utilise this analysis in the concluding chapter, showing how durable and sustainable peace can be brought about in Mbale, having previously analysed the Mbale setting and understanding the ways in which better interventions can be introduced and nurtured.

Boutros Ghali's assertion in 1995 that, 'just as there can be no lasting peace without development, so development efforts can not succeed without a stable peaceful environment', has been taken up and echoed by all those concerned with the continuity of endemic and spectacular violence in the South (Boutros Ghali Boutros, 1995, Keating and Knight, 2004). Sustainable development and sustainable peace are thus integral concepts which need to be addressed concurrently since the achievement of one depends on the other. Sustainability is an outcome that does not have to be propped up artificially from outside, but generates its own support by speaking to the conditions of all parties. Galtung, Jacobsen and Brand-Jacobsen (2000) have argued cogently that this can be attained through the institutionalisation of participatory processes in order to provide civil and political rights to all peoples. It requires adequate legal enforcement and judicial protection to ensure that all citizens are treated equally and fairly through the safeguarding of their human rights. It also involves equitable economic development and opportunities that ground the provision of economic and social rights. Finally, it entails the development of pluralist norms and practices that respect the unique cultures and identities of all.

Peck (1998) has argued that sustainable peace requires the education of dominant groups, convincing them that their own long-term security interests lie in the development of a just and equitable society, a major conclusion of this thesis. This

peace process has to be cultivated from within and has to be all-embracing at all levels. This was clearly missing within the poverty-stricken area of Mbale, where existing institutions seem to have failed to instil a durable peace and to restore justice in their structures. All the same, any promotion of local consultation and decision-making by the leadership, involving all of the antagonistic factions, will definitely encourage reconciliation and forgiveness, which are essential for eventual peace (Pankhurst, 1999) in this community.

Lederach points out that before one can attempt to fully conceptualise sustainable peace, there needs to be an understanding of the dynamism and progression of conflict. Since conflict is a dynamic process, sustainable peace depends on the peace-building process as a multiplicity of highly integrated approaches and interdependent issues and behaviours that could transform a given conflict constructively (Lederach, 1999). Peace sustainability is thus concerned with initiating a conflict transformation process that is a movement from the latent stage of conflict, to confrontation, to negotiation, to dynamic peaceful relationships which are capable of regenerating themselves over time through a spiral of peace development (ibid, Veen, 1999; Togeren, 1999; Ropers, 1999). These are important issues that the leadership in Mbale must be ready to handle in the face of continued woes that are the legacy of the open hostilities ten years ago.

Thus, this thesis develops the body of scholarship by arguing that peace and development are both interdependent and indivisible. Peace forms an integral part of any sustainable development, and even in a situation where the ostensible reasons for killing was a belief in 'witchcraft', only a comprehensive strategy which addresses the

effective inclusion and involvements of all social segments in society will bring hope and subsequent development to the Mbale situation. Thus, sustainable development embedded within a fair distribution, and social sectoral development can reduce violent conflict, in conjunction with good governance and regional cooperation (Deng, 1995; Zartman, 1997). The advice that peace issues are too important to leave to army generals and responsible government departments alone (Zartman, 1997) can no longer be easily disputed, as peace concerns us all, and requires concerted efforts, skills, partnership and cooperation to attain, consolidate and sustain. Sustainable development can only thrive under such conditions.

3.3:1 Conclusion

Conflicts are an inevitable part of social relations, which can be useful when they help promote competition and innovation. Violence, on the other hand, cannot be considered inevitable: it is detrimental, negative, and destroys harmony, trust and socio-economic development. Hence, diverse and inclusive initiatives, involving all stakeholders, are necessary to ensure that conflicts are managed before hostilities, or antagonistic parties, turn violent. The use of gender integration in analysis, and for policy and decision making at all levels, harnesses the potential of women and men for peace policies and practices. After all, women, like men, have a potential to sustain violence as well as peace and are useful partners in sustainable development.

Chapter Four: Masculinity, Scarcity and Violence in Mbale

'Conflicts and domestic tension have had devastating effects on the lives of people in Africa, as well as on their efforts towards meaningful socio-economic transformation, integration, and development...there are factors of shared culture, geography and history that play a critical function in conflicts and conflict resolution in any given region...these factors interplay in determining the course of conflict and the means of resolving them. Invariably, it becomes necessary in any attempt at resolving conflicts to have a firm grasp of these factors and how to use them constructively in the process of consensus building (and conflict management) that is crucial in times of crisis' (Salim, 1998:245-246).

4.1:1 Introduction

Chapter four focuses on the interview materials that give an account of the course and dynamics of the violence besides detailing the voices of what different social groups in the area say were the sources of the violence. In this chapter the voices of different social groups are presented primarily as an illustration of the linkages between experiences of scarcity, gender ascriptions of masculinity and the ensuing violence that is eventually triggered. It endeavours to unravel how livelihood realities of perceived failure to fulfill masculine expectations as well as realities of widespread poverty, land pressure, poor access to social services, declining productivity, declining produce prices, lack of markets, unemployment and illiteracy are linked to the latent interpersonal conflicts and the nature of the self as culturally defined and the explosion of violence that results. For conflict management and sustainable peace-building to be effective, the sources of any violence are critical issues to address; by addressing grievances embedded in perceived sources of the crisis. Such a strategy addresses all the grievances of different parties in conflict if durable peace is either to be negotiated or even achieved.

The aim of the chapter is therefore to analyse the sources of the violence from the witnesses, suspected perpetrators, victims, community leaders, responsible government agencies and media houses so as to comprehend the different views that sometimes appear as contradictory explanations as an initial step towards conflict management and sustainable peace development. This is because there is no way of envisaging any conflict management strategy without prior knowledge and understanding the importance attached to the different views, otherwise such a strategy would end up addressing some issues and leaving out others or even addressing what is theoretically deemed important without due consideration to what is important to parties in a particular conflict setting like the Mbale situation. In this chapter, witchcraft accusations as related to the Mbale conflict provides a background to the relationship between a trigger off and underlying sources of violence. I have then analyzed the question of scarcity and violent masculinity in shaping the dynamics and the sources of the Mbale violence. The chapter begins by analyzing cultural masculinity and how it relates to the conflict dynamics. I then move on to discuss the issue of resource scarcity and institutional viabilities to manage conflicts. Next, I show the multifaceted nature of the sources of the Mbale conflict.

4.1: 2 Violence among the Bagisu

The Bagisu's reputation for violence is well documented and is said to be a defensive mechanism against aggressors according to Heald, 1998. Sir Harry Johnson is quoted by Heald to have referred to the Bagisu as the 'wildest people to be found anywhere' (ibid: 24). It was decided by the colonists for example that since the Bagisu had no respect for each other lives, did not submit to authority either from parents or local leadership, only force could appeal to them (ibid). Purvis (1909) as quoted by Heald (ibid) analysed the difficulty faced when trying to introduce British law in Bugisu the

land of the Bamasaba. It is no wonder therefore that Heald emphasizes the fear of violence in the area (ibid). A thorough examination will however point to violent masculinity as key to violence trends and violence manifestations in the area. Heald's assertion that 'violence and killing [in Mbale] did not happen by default but were an expression of male purpose' (Heald, 1998:57) points directly to the structure of male clan elders power that is linked to the distribution of resources and political power an important gender dynamic.

From this background, it important to note is that Heald's analysis of patriarchal clan structures in Bugisu presents interesting colonial stereotypes about the Bagisu. In fact, Bugisu-land is not a den of violent conflicts, neither are all the Bagisu violent. The Bamasaba or Bamasaba are a Bantu ethnic group closely linked to the Luuya group of Western Kenya, and Banyole and Samia of both Eastern Uganda and Western Kenya. They occupy the mountainous region and rural areas of Mt Elgon almost exclusively. The Bagisu are distinctively known because of their cultural circumcision rituals of boys (Imbalu) which takes place every even year. This is an initiation of young boys between the ages of 16- 20 years on average into prestigious manhood, adult life and independence.

During these ceremonies, the candidates are meant to rehearse their responsibilities in society, and are reminded by the crowds to be brave men who must always defend their manhood, families and clans through chanting slogans, poems and songs. The young men are prepared to acquire resources particularly cattle for marriage and land to feed their upcoming families. The maternal uncles and other relatives give gifts during the circumcision festivals such as cattle, goats and chicken. Such gifts are

aimed at providing an initial resource base for bride price on marriage. The paternal family particularly the father is supposed to allocate land to the new man in preparation for autonomy, resource production and self sustenance. Boys become men after circumcision; expected to marry, become autonomous and independent from anybody. They are given a hoe and machete by the surgeon during the cleansing process three days after circumcision in preparation for these masculine responsibilities.

The 'imbalu' rituals require thorough preparations that last close to a year. And the climax demands that young men go through three days of rigorous ceremonies, bullying and mockery till they face circumcision with bravery to qualify into manhood. The 'imbalu' songs were the very songs that were sung during the 1995/96 violence in Mbale, as the victims of the violence were tortured and led to their final destination; death through brutal murder. This signifies the strong relationship between cultural traditions which encourage a masculinity that is institutionalised and violent. When commenting on the circumcision culture among the Gisu (Bagisu), Heald maintains that though men and women in Bugisu have experience of pain (birth and circumcision for women and men respectively), women remain compassionate while boys become men; 'a boy does not just take on the mantle and responsibilities of adulthood but becomes a man with the distinctive capacities of a man. Before circumcision, boys are held incapable of *lirima* [range or and anger]' (Heald, 1999: 69).

Evidence from the fieldwork shows that a male person only qualifies as a man after the circumcision initiation, and males who have not been circumcised are (openly)

regarded as boys and never respected. Hence males who do not culturally conform to violent circumcision rituals are regarded as boys and those who have gone through the violent ritual are expected to exhibit some form of violent masculinity as a man otherwise would be deemed weak and feminine. The Bagisu young men who opt to have the circumcision done in a non-traditional way such as from a health unit for example are regarded as cowards and cannot be even trusted with leadership roles (including modern leadership in the area). To signify the importance attached to bravery and violent masculinity through circumcision rituals, any male who is doubted by the people is checked in public to verify their conformity. Male corpses who are suspect are inspected to ensure that they had been initiated. Those found not to have had it have to undergo the compulsory rituals even though this was found out after their death. For one to qualify to be a leader in this area therefore, he must have thus undergone the violent circumcision rituals; reflecting the importance attached to bravery, violent masculinity and resource acquisition among the Bagisu.

The Bagisu have different types of music for different occasions, and death is usually mourned not celebrated. The rhythm of music for mourning prominent persons in the community is quite different and the dancing style is very distinct from jubilant music like that of marriage, harvest, circumcision, congregational reunion of circumcised peers after the circumcision season and for fertility. Circumcision music is for celebration of manhood and they use jubilant drums and songs. Though this study did not go into details of the manifestation of music in the violence, the use of jubilant music [circumcision songs] unveils the relationship of different types of autocracies in human history. In Rwanda, music was used during the genocide just as was the case during the Nazi period according to Jeffries (2004).

4.2: 1 Cultural Masculinity and Conflict Dynamics

There are varying and contradictory explanations on the course and dynamics of the Mbale violence, depending on who I was talking to, ten years hence from the conflict. According to one Guloba a civic leader and witness (*interview; 12th December 2003*) of Bukonde Sub-county in Bungokho County, the violence started in Bukikoso village in Bufumbo around July 1995. Mr. Guloba explained that a one Mr. Nabende (now deceased) confessed to have been a witch and offered to help his community to identify other witches in the neighbourhoods after he had converted to the Pentecostal Church from the Church of Uganda [Protestant], and had become known as *saved* or *born again* person as is commonly known in this community.

Mr Nabende's offer to identify other witches prompted villagers (regardless of their religious affiliations) mainly young men to mount a massive search for the alleged witches in the sub-counties of Bufumbo and Bukonde in Bungokho County in Mbale district of Eastern Uganda in 1995. Nabende was forgiven and thus was not harmed during the violence (he later died of natural causes). It was apparent though that the public confession by Nabende was important in triggering off the massive search for alleged witches and the subsequent violence in Mbale district in August 1995.

At the time of the violence, Pentecostal churches were gaining popularity. These churches encourage public confessions, and my personal experience in the area shows that they use local ways to explain the meaning of extraordinary socio-economic and political events. They thus promise to provide best answers to those searching for answers to problems in their lives, and healing to the sick (regardless of the nature of the ailment). While highly critical of what they consider to be evil local practices

(such as witchcraft and witchdoctors' predictions of future events), the Pentecostal churches themselves are founded on practices such as talking in tongues, foreseeing and foretelling futures through spiritual powers (similar to the practices of witchdoctors) since they too foretell and repeal acts of witchcraft in society. These churches are highly pragmatic, and by having adapted to local situations and needs of the people have attracted many people of all classes to the sect. It was not clear whether Nabende had used these powers in naming the *witches* in his community or was just aware of their purported activities before the conversion.

Nabende's confession thus led to an intensive search for the suspected witches. These witches were thought to be responsible for the misfortune and different forms of socioeconomic and political hardships experienced in the communities. These were then gathered at the Bufumbo Sub-County quarters one by one with the alleged evidence (witchcraft/sorcery charms) which included human hairs, animal bones, chicken eggs, and different wild herbs. It is claimed that about 36 suspected witches from the two sub-counties of Bufumbo and Bukonde were gathered together at Bufumbo sub-county headquarters. These suspected witches were men and women averaging between 50 years and 75 years old. The LC III Chairman Bufumbo is said to have summoned a community general meeting to deal with the crisis at the Sub-county headquarters.

Mr. Gidima an elder and civic leader in the area had this to say when asked about the incident:

'Since the witches were few, the community felt they could arrest them easily. So some few Local Defence Units personnel were picked from the sub-county to arrest those criminals...Yes, they got some evidence that these were real criminals...The evidence included polythen bags tied and kept in three mouth

clay pots, and many more. I just wish you were there (smiling). The knots that were found had different items tied neatly in the bags. These included hairs, bones, herbs and many more...Indeed we found some (witches) with evidence and others had nothing but had been mentioned by Nabende...Houses were adequately searched but some may have kept things (witchcraft spells or charms) too far to be seen by an outsider, but still it helped because otherwise they would have finished (bewitched) many people by now'. *Interview; 17th December 2003*).

This account vividly demonstrates that individuals could not explain their livelihoods and hardships at the time, instead they found blame in witchcraft. Mr. Gidudu a former LC who vividly recalls what happened when violence erupted in his village did not concur entirely with Mr. Gidima's account:

'...When we arrived there, I saw other crowds from different directions and all were bringing other witches to the sub-county headquarters...we just locked them up in the cell but they kept bringing more...It was all chaos and people were shouting and demanding "*we want to see them (suspected witches) to today, let us have our share, give them to us*"...they demanded that we let the witches out to be lashed... I do not believe in witchcraft but others do. Even important people believe in witchcraft. It is hard however to know who was a witch and who was falsely accused at that time. It was very chaotic and everyone said anything. Those caught were beaten and asked to mention others, and this is how they got so many but what would you do in such a situation? ... It is very difficult to tell people (desperate) nowadays that they have not been bewitched. People are badly off. ...What else do you expect the witchdoctors to tell these people (either)?' (*Interview; Bufumbo, 13th December 2003*).

The narration of events notwithstanding, the fact that individuals could not explain their livelihood hardships but to blame witchcraft shows disillusionment in unfulfilled promises of wellbeing and an undercurrent of social tension that was only waiting for an incidence to cause an overflow. Indeed there is a break with tradition because alleged witches were asked to identify others in public, a break from the secrecy related to dealing with witches. By implication, the bubbling of social tensions below the surface is brought to overflow without reverting to socially established courses of action due to the magnitude of the effect of the unravelling of livelihoods that had come to affect a significant proportion of the community. Social structures that would have imposed restraint as well as reason are disregarded not because of their

presumed inadequacy but due to the prescription they seem to provide when dealing with misfortune i.e. blame it on the witches and cleanse the society of them. In the absence of alternative state structures that would provide provisions to alleviate the suffering of the information to explain trends of poverty, disillusioned illiterate youths having been empowered and inculcated into the culture of violent masculinity relied on their own half knowledge of tradition to take action. It is further indicative of the failure of the tradition to pass down knowledge as well as age-old analysis of trends in well-being particularly so in situations of deprivation and uncertainty.

It is thus difficult to separate the causes of the violence from the felt sources of the violence of deprivation in the narrations of those whose voices are presented in this study. It is empirically acknowledged that the trigger for the violence was alleged witchcraft hunt, and it is only after in depth discussion that participants were able to give underlying reasons which were thought to be caused by witchcraft spells. Despite these underlying reasons purportedly attributed to witchcraft acts, witchcraft accusations were used to justify and explain the violence at the time by the perpetrators and their sympathisers.

4.2: 2 Scarcity and Institutional Viability as Sources

It was very difficult from the evidence given by participants in this research to get a clear cut between the perceived and actual sources of the violence studied. All evidence suggested the interplay of various reasons resulting into serious grievances that had been harboured only to manifest into violence when an opportunity arose. There was amongst others a shared view that those who were victimised were not necessarily witches, but had had old grudges and rivalry with the perpetrators and killers. The felt deprivation and despair as a few people in the community had access

to resources which others did not have bred feelings of jealousy and envy. It was therefore thought that some people were doing something magical to deter others from getting the same. Despite this prevailing assumption of witchcraft which is heavily embedded in people's attitudes and lives in the area as earlier propounded by Heald (1998,1999), there were people who saved the lives of some of the alleged witches in the communities.

Mr Kaato a journalist recalled the beginning of the violence in the following words:

'Someone gave me the information at the taxi park (Mbale town). I do not recall the particular person but I remember the allegation that an old woman had been got with a dead body (no one else revealed this). I rushed and notified the police. I then got a motorcycle and rushed to the scene. I remember seeing crowds at the sub-county head quarters from the trading centre, I feared for the worst (panicked) then when I heard the loud demands that the witches be released, (and) I sensed danger. The meeting by the LCs was yet to begin but I wonder if there would have been a meeting at all. The people looked bitter and you know what I mean when a Mufumbo (a person from Bufumbo) is annoyed...The police came in time and begged to have the victims (together with the evidence) transferred to Mbale police station...The police made assurances several times that they would deal seriously with the witches but still there was a scuffle during the process which led to the death of two persons, and another died here in hospital. I do not recall how many (number of suspected witches) they were but they were a good number, men and women, some were very old and were all taken straight to Maluku (prison) since there was no space at the central police to accommodate the big numbers' (*Interview, Mbale town, 24th March 2004*).

There is a belief which was propounded and promoted by the colonialists that the Bagisu people are cannibals (Heald, 1998), and it no wonder that an old woman is reported here by a journalist to have had a dead body in her possession. Besides, relying on hearsay and the failure of police to keep angry crowds at bay may be indicative of weakened state structures of law and order. In fact, it can be said that there could be a perceived absence of state authority so that rowdy crowds baying to hand out mob-justice can over power the few law enforcers deployed in the area to lynch two people in their presence. Acting with impunity may also be an indication of

the community's rejection of state authority and choosing to invoke tradition, which prescribes societal cleansing of witches. This argument is further illustrated by the voices below, which confirm state failure and the spontaneity of social action.

Mr Guloba (and others) confirmed having witnessed two persons killed at the time; one from Bukonde sub-county and another from Bufumbo during the struggle with the police. There were no reports of exact numbers but it is said by all who witnessed the violence, including the police and prison witnesses at the time, that the majority of the suspected witches were elderly men. This is in line with Heald's observation that suspected witches among the Bagisu are elderly (Heald, 1999). The point of disagreement though was that these elderly men were not the have-nots and dependants in the community as highlighted by Heald (*ibid*). This is also contrary to witchcraft related violence elsewhere where the targets and victims are mainly women (Ray, 1999, Green and Mesaki, 2005). It is therefore not only the felt sense of deprivation but sense of envy of those who had more that played a significant role in the violence dynamics.

In fact the majority of the suspected witches in Mbale were mainly elderly men, and all the three women killed were single or widowed women, and they all had a stable income base relative to many others in their immediate vicinity. The two women victims who were married at the time of the violence were killed together with their husbands. In Bugisu therefore as earlier mentioned, suspected witches are of either gender of old age. During the 1995-96 violence though, the majority of the suspects and victims of the violence were surprisingly elderly men. They all possessed socio-

economic advantage over others in their vicinity bringing the relationship of scarcity to the violence very eminent.

Unlike in Bungokho [Bufumbo/Bukonde], where suspected witches who were taken to prison as the masses cooled down [hence these were able to survive death], their counterparts [suspected witches] in remote Manjiya who are far from the justice structures were killed immediately. To illustrate the difficulty of accessing justice due to general deprivation of poverty and underdevelopment; a manifestation of scarcity, the first victim to face death in Manjiya had trekked for over six kilometres on the way to the nearest police station when she was finally overwhelmed by the beating/stoning and died before reaching the nearest police station. She was tortured and mocked all the way to the police station only to die before she could reach the police. With the help of an LC, this victim was arrested by the community and was subsequently directed to the police to answer witchcraft charges. Nevertheless, the rest of the victims in Manjiya were never taken to police at all but were instead tortured to death by the youth.

All the views gathered indicate that the violence started in Bufumbo and later engulfed the whole district and beyond to neighbouring Kenya. The suspects were generally regarded as *witches*, and there was a belief that they had hidden the charms beyond reach whenever the searches did not yield anything. The general view from participants in Bungokho was that Nabende only revealed witches in his immediate vicinity (Bufumbo and Bukonde). There was a shared view however that some people from other areas particularly from Bushika in Manjiya came to consult Nabende at the time after hearing what had happened in Bufumbo. Such people wanted to verify if

anyone had imported anything from the area or whether he [Nabende] had known any witches in their respective communities since they [consulter] were also facing misfortunate and hardships in their communities similar to those Nabende had identified as resulting from acts of witchcraft.

Mr. Guloba a witness of the violence said:

‘We heard that the people in Manjiya thought Nabende was lying to them since they too felt they had witches amidst them back home [in their communities]’.

This may partly explain why the violence spread like a cancer to the neighbouring Bushika first before it spread to other parts of Manjiya County and beyond because Bushika borders Bufumbo and is only separated by a forest reserve. It is however not sufficient to explain why other neighbours of Bungokho did not experience the violent wave too such as those in Pallisa, Kumi, and Tororo. The violent masculine embedded in the Gishu culture and promoted by the men among the Bagisu cannot be easily dispelled from what happened at the time of the violent conflict.

It was also reported that Bufumbo and Bukonde suffered another wave of witchcraft related violence in 1997 but that it is not covered in this study as the research concentrated on the 1995/96 violence that is believed to have lasted seven months. This second wave is said to have been witchcraft related like the first one, but was milder and no major losses or human life was lost in this second wave. This second wave cannot totally be totally ignored as it shows that violence may reoccur if it is not well managed, and if the circumstances that led to the violent acts are not adequately addressed (Sandole and Merwe, 1993, Senghaas, 1987, Roberts, 1998, Jeong, 1999B, Galtung, 1996, 2004, Zartman, 2001, Waller, 1996).

Mr. Kamali an ex LC leader, witness, and survivor of the violence explained the manifestation of violence in Manjiya:

‘We heard that something similar had happened in Bufumbo area (referring to Bufumbo and Bukonde) but we did not get a lot of information about it. What I heard was that in Bushika, an LC was behind the violence. He mobilised the youth to kill his political opponents. Some people think the whole thing (violence) came from Bufumbo...So, the whole thing started from Bushika but we did not know until a woman called Kibone was picked from her shop in Kikhololo and was led on a trek with chanting circumcision songs and slogans (*bamusinyisa*), with a chorus *Ngolye Wele wowo* (*‘If you eat again, it will be due to your god’*; meaning if you survived, it would be a miracle) repeatedly. This was the beginning of the whole massacre that claimed 48 people in my area alone...No one cared. Many leaders (LCs) escaped. I was on the committee and had to go to Mbale to report what was happening...Police was deployed but as we were addressing people in Khakale trading centre, we could vividly hear and watch the chanting and mobs from different directions in the mountains. We could see (knew) what was going to happen, but no one could stop it. Even during the rally with the police, people openly told the police that they were going to continue with the killings. It was an open declaration...I was in danger personally but I had to help. I saw mutilated bodies, I mourned (cried) like a woman and people wondered what was happening to me...I was given body guards later and many people who had escaped to the field (communal grounds at the sub-county offices) to seek refuge were with us but still the policemen were few...a German journalist came and stayed with me and told me about the killings in German long ago...I will give you his name when I find it...The Minister of Internal Affairs also visited the area and gave to the whole of Manjiya Sh.100.000= (about £40 then) only to help during the rehabilitation. Truly I was the only leader behind peace restoration but what could that amount do? Others took it anyway!’ (*interview, 12th March 2004*).

Though the majority of the targets were elderly men, it is evidenced that some weak, vulnerable and the dependent women in the community were targeted. Where as, the men who were killed were those who were perceived to have more. An examination of the state structures i.e. the local council one, which ideally is the first administrative unit of the state, shows its inability to provide adequate control. Its ineffectiveness as a means for maintaining law and order as well as social cohesion derived from information and development orientation of the smallest unit (the village) points towards contradictions between the modern and traditional. While the former relies upon the law and promises of social amenities provision, the latter bestows

heritage and apportion roles and wealth. Inadequacies in the state notwithstanding, the traditional neither ensures wellbeing nor dictates social order. In the face of fragile livelihoods, explanations of experiences of misfortune and powerlessness to change one's impoverished conditions lean towards the culturally embedded reasons, but which are not sufficiently understood by the young adults who did not benefit from family education. Thus the linkages between economic scarcity, cultural ascriptions and the breakdown of social order in managing conflict before they turn violent.

The under development of the area in terms of social infrastructures i.e. roads, police units and telephone services hindered the effective response to the violence. So as much as development requires peace, so does the peace attainment requires infrastructure development for effective conflict management, hence these two concepts seem to go hand in hand, and are highly interdependent. It is also apparent from this revelation that leadership was crucial in stopping the violence and like in Bungokho. Here, some local leaders played a vital role in curbing the violence despite the fact that some leaders are also thought to have escaped to safety. While some leaders were crucial stopping the violence, it is said that others used the excuse of witchcraft to settle political grievances and differences.

There is indicative evidence that some people who had witnessed what had happened in Bungokho [regarding the treatment of suspected witches by responsible government departments] advised their relatives in Manjiya to take the law in their hands and violently attach the suspects so that they could learn a lesson. One of the alleged agitators of the violence eruption in Bushika who doubled as a local leader in

the area, is said to have had close relations in Bufumbo. These are thought to have participated in the violence and tipped off their relations in Manjiya.

Another widely shared opinion is that for the case of Bushika, a witchdoctor [medicine man] was invited from Bungokho to explain the cause of family deaths and misfortunes in a particular village. It is believed this witchdoctor/medicine man identified and confirmed the presence of 'witches' in the community who were responsible for the deaths of the elders. In this particular village there is real evidence that a series of meetings were held, and both traditional and civic community leaders were in attendance prior to the actualisation of the violence. Names purportedly mentioned by the witchdoctor were tabled in the meetings and elders blessed the youths to avenge the deaths of their loved ones whose cause of the deaths had been attributed to witchcraft. This contradicts the normal practice of repelling witchcraft acts and avenging witchcraft related misfortunes with witchcraft as opposed to violent acts by the youth. Witches are highly feared in this community hence exposing open rage to a suspected witch was a daring act of brevity.

It is said that after one of these meetings, a key suspected witch was attacked at night in August 1995, kidnapped and while being led to be killed, was saved by a member of the gang of youths who falsely claimed he had escaped. Gunshots were heard that night but were said to have been directed in the opposite direction as a member of the gang tried to save his maternal relative.

The collective assessment of the character of witches and the resultant solidarity in response is typical of the system identified by Heald (1998). Indeed the complicity of

the representatives of the state seen in local leaders points to the action of divorce of the state law. While the elders' action can be understood to be that ascribed by tradition as self-help to avenge members of society wronged by the witches, that of local leaders is primarily a fear of the assessment of their character, which could lead to expulsion or exclusion. Culture was thus used as a lens for judging morality and defining the perspective to be adopted by those charged to act on behalf of the society. What this failed to do was protection of individuals with coherent explanations of scarcity among a largely unproductive society faced with disease and food insecurity. Indeed some perpetrators were culturally aware of taboos imposed on attacking kin but were afraid of the moral opprobrium that would attach upon them a negative assessment of character. It can be explained that culturally, among the Bagisu, it is a taboo to annoy let alone wage war or kill a maternal relative, and any form of killing regardless of the motive is regarded a very bad act and condemned, and rituals of cleansing are done by all who have been involved in any killing.

The saviour referred to above however was tricked and killed by the group about three months later where a woman was used as bait, and his body was later found dumped in a pit latrine after the violence. One of the suspected perpetrators whose identity, for confidentiality and ethical reasons cannot be disclosed, narrated that after knowing one of them had helped the victim escape, they planned to kill him [the saviour/traitor] because they could not fully trust him. He said that it was however very difficult to execute their mission since he never drank alcohol and was always cautious, till they unarmed him and forced one of their sisters to take him in an isolated place. He explained that the deceased had had grudges with his own father and the group used the opportunity to get payment from the father for helping him kill his enemy son. It

is a common practice in this area for either sons or fathers to turn against each other and this may result in death of either party (Heald, 1998).

The woman referred to above, who was used bait said;

'I was commanded to *be with him* and was told not to say anything or show any fear for anything. I knew he was going to die but I could do nothing. I trembled and he kept asking me why I was panicking. He tried to assure me that all was well and calmed me down, but later he also started feeling uneasy and asked to go. He said he did not want to be in that house as if something was telling him that all was not well. He had just asked me who were outside the house and before I could answer, *basiya* (my colleagues, peers, brothers) were already in the house and asking us what we were doing...I knew he was going to be killed.' (*Interview, Manjiya, 13th January 2003*).

An important dimension of this conflict is that guns were involved despite tough regulations on illegal possession of guns in Uganda. The issue of hiring guns signifies a high level of preparation on the part of the perpetrators of the violent conflict. There is no evidence that these guns were recovered at all. Sources at Bushika police post are said to have recovered one gun from thugs some years later, but it does not match those used in the 1995/96 violence (police revelation at Bushika police post). A socio-cultural dimension in the manifestation of this violence is that like the case with circumcision candidates, the victims were bullied, tortured and taken to a particular spot before blowing a final whistle, exactly as it is done at the end of a circumcision ritual. Despite the fact that this study does not go into details to explain why this was so, it opens an important subject for future research. Since the existing social structures were important in supporting and structuring violence, they can be transformed as change agents for peace and development if strategically used.

There was a change of positions in the violence where one of the perpetrators was also a victim of the violence. The man who was killed was one of the perpetrators, but

when the group later realised that he was a collaborator with some of the targeted victims, he was deemed a traitor and ended up in the position of a victim. The use of a woman does present a gender dynamic in the course of the violence, where a woman was ordered to seduce the victim. This reflects power relations among different genders in the social setting which were employed during the violence. This woman, like many others in the community, abetted the crime because she knew what her relatives were doing and kept silent. Such women may have been either sympathisers, or were fearful of their personal security. The unwritten law is that gender actions are used to rid society of undesirable members. But the contradiction is that while this was traditionally used to avert feuds and disputes among groups, this only showed a self-defeating vengeance.

Women in this area are meant to obey and protect their kin and kith without question, and no women had come up to openly reveal what happened, and were likely to keep quiet as a matter of community responsibility as well as fear for revenge over their kin, kith and themselves. The women whose relations are thought to have perpetrated the violence and have participated in this study did so after gaining the confidence that I would keep the matters discussed in confidence and protect their confidentiality. They were very particular about the safety of the suspected perpetrators and wanted to be sure that the information they gave would not be used to harm anyone. It is a common practice among the Bagisu that women always keep a low profile on important public matters. They are not expected to be physically violent because women are believed to possess only jealousy not anger; commonly referred to as *namakanda* (unpoisonous snakes) as was observed by Heald (1998). The men on the other hand can show anger, and their violent masculine nature is easily accepted, though not

recommended or applauded by the community (ibid). Another gender dimension in the dynamics of the violence was age, where most of the victims were elderly but mostly male, and the perpetrators were mainly male youths. So even if some women fell victim to the violence, the general trend was that young men killed elderly men. Even in the planning, there was only one case of a woman and it was reported that this woman is said to be from an elite background, and middle class.

All in all, there were differences between the Manjiya and Bungokho situations. In Bufumbo, the violence seemed not to have been planned and was spontaneous by angry residents who were informed of the existence of witches who had caused them suffering and misfortune in many ways. In Manjiya though, the course and manifestations of the violence varied greatly according to different parties and villages, the general trend was that the violence was carefully planned, legitimised and directed by important persons in the area including some local leaders and elders. Faced with scarcity in the area, and unexplained events like death and poor yields, community could not easily comprehend why all people are not hit in the same way. The leaders and elders who are the source of knowledge and wisdom (Heald, 1999) when they found explanations in witchcraft, an aspect which is culturally believed to cause misfortune, were believed without question since it fitted well with established cultures and beliefs in the area, hence, the violence.

In Manjiya for example, it was narrated that once a suspected witch was caught, he would not be killed immediately but would be tortured, dragged and led to a particular place as the established custom of treating boys (candidates) going to be circumcised and then would be hacked to death. Different people were killed differently and

Mulinde-Musoke and Wa Gamusi (1996) reported that the well organised groups of youths seemed to have enjoyed every moment, as they hunted out their victims, under what seemed to be the influence of alcohol and murdered them. They reported that later people in the area seemed to be more concerned about the presence of the police rather than being remorseful for the events that had occurred and alarmed the whole country. They are said to have danced and sang jubilant circumcision songs and slogans as they led the victims to death (ibid). In response, the police was reinforced by the army and patrolled the villages after the violence. This utilisation of culturally significant rites in the violence coupled with usage of alcohol may seem incoherent but are indicative of the unravelling of tradition as well as social norm that it prescribes; violent masculinity.

Mixing joyous song with vengeful actions however collective while contradictory is also explainable by psychological well-being of the individuals. That they indulged in the consumption of alcohol may also point to the need to muster courage for vindictive actions. Note however that the lack of remorse subsequent to the violence re-enforces the possible psychosocial condition of perpetrators whose experiences of poverty, disease and death induced apathetic tendencies that could not be healed by the death of 'witches.'

Mr. Masaba a victim as well as peacemaker narrated that:

'Nobody helped, people were threatened and nobody knew whom they were going for next. Ooo!! (sighs) It was bad. I had never seen anything like that in my life. Families were abandoned and husbands were shaken. You cannot understand what I am saying. You had to see what was happening to imagine what I am trying to say now' (*Interview, 16th December, 2003*).

When asked what role women played then, he said women followed the crowds and is not sure whether they also sang and danced, other women rescued the children and movable property to safety with their relatives till calm returned. This signifies that the targets were men; the haves who doubled as *wicked witches*. The children of the victims were taken care of mainly by maternal relatives but since most victims were elderly, their children could look after themselves.

This view is shared by Mr. Kisibo, a victim who lost a sister and was attacked in broad day-light by his own clan-mates, but narrowly escaped. He narrated that his sons took pangas [machetes] in defense and his wives rescued the children and the cows and took them to their relatives in far places. The family was later united after he had migrated to another place. He said this happened during broad day light and it was after he had crossed the river to the neighbouring sub-county that the perpetrators left him, since the leaders of the other sub-county had issued a warning that anyone who would take violence in their area would go back dead, the perpetrators feared to follow him when he crossed to another area of political jurisdiction. This brings out an important aspect of leadership and respect for political boundaries, and in fact this sub-county referred to by the survivor was left in the middle as an island and did not experience any violence despite similarities in socioeconomic and political circumstances that prevailed at the time. The dominance of the state here highlighted its ability to enforce adherence to law and constrain wanton action.

It was said that in Manjiya, the killers used to move in the villages and asked for foodstuffs: matooke, chicken and goats but would not remain in the villages after dark. Ms Kakayi a witness in one village said:

‘They [perpetrators] told us they were guarding us and we had to feed them well for the service. I gave them bunches of bananas and chicken, and they asked me where my sons had gone. That is when I feared because we had heard they had killed some people. They left with the food... and many were from here [this village]’

The law enforcing officers shared this view, and said it was not until big numbers of police were deployed, and got accustomed to the geographical nature of the place, that they were able to stop the violence. Before then, the perpetrators were moving freely in the villages during the time of the insurgency and were people known in the villages. Their victims knew them well just as was the case in Rwanda a year before the Mbale violence (Mamdani, 2001; Waller, 1996, 1997; Prunier, 1995).

Because of this, survivors and witnesses have at their finger prints the names of the perpetrators, and many perpetrators were living side by side with their victims at the time of the research. For fear of revenge, none of the survivors or their relatives wanted the identities of these perpetrators revealed, despite the fact that some participants said they had not forgotten nor forgiven them for their actions. Likewise, relatives of perpetrators feel strongly that injustice was done to their loved ones; who are either imprisoned or on the run, and believe they were innocent victims. They dreaded the fact that the evil witches had got off scot-free, and were likely to cause more harm.

Others believed that not everybody killed or victimised was a witch, and they differed greatly on how the whole conflict situation manifested itself. But the belief was unanimous that the violence emanated from Bushika, for the case of Manjiya County, and spread to other counties, and later crossed over the border to Western Kenya. This confirms the dynamics of the internationalisation of conflict, and the need for conflict

management and peace building before the consequences of what would be a local crisis was felt in other areas even beyond the national state due to the unpredictable and butterfly consequences of violence. Likewise, for the case of Bungokho, the trigger was purported witchcraft hurt. Though the violence in the two counties of Mbale happened almost at the same time; the Manjiya violence followed the violence in Bungokho; and the manifestations varied greatly.

The Bungokho violence was short lived and the victims were arrested by the community and taken to law enforcing officers. In Manjiya, except for one case, none of the victims was handed over to the law enforcing offices and the violent conflict took about seven months to calm down. Some observers say the Manjiya situation was different due to geographical features which make accessibility difficult for law enforcing agencies; others felt Manjiya is still more traditional, far from police posts. People in Manjiya had learnt from the Bungokho situation that the justice system was not *just* in their own understanding and planned the execution of victims accordingly. This is taken up later in the analysis of the conflict management in chapter six.

When commenting on the possible cause of the Mbale 1995/96 violence, Mr Katenya, a magistrate said;

‘The Bagisu are socially organised along clan lines and this in a way has exacerbated the problem of rivalry, envy and violence in the area. We have indeed noted that Mbale and Kabale have the highest cases of homicide in the whole country, so that violence (1995/96) is not a big surprise to us. And there are no questions, it is self explanatory; both peoples live in mountainous areas’.
(Interview, 16th January 2004).

Here, violence was seen to be a result of cultures of violent masculinity and rivalry, though he did not elaborate as to whether such rivalry emanate from social, economic or political causes. These two peoples referred to by the participant belong to the Bantu ethnic group, but do not share similar cultures except that both districts are the

most densely populated, are mountainous, and incidentally the two are located far apart geographically. Though envy and rivalry seemed to have played a key role in the violence, due to the general deprivation and related consequences of the vicious cycle of poverty in the area, the interplay of various sources of the violence in this area cannot be ignored.

Sharing a similar view was Mr. Kalibo, a state attorney;

‘Homicide is very common in Mbale and it is deeply rooted in the people’s culture here. When a Mugisu tells you to go away when he is angry, you must move very fast otherwise the next step would be regrettable. But of course not all Bagisu are violent. We have noted that those in the mountainous area are more violent than those who live in the plain-lands, and this violence was grave in the most mountainous areas of Manjiya than was in Bungokho which is not so mountainous. This violence is also more compounded by the feature of circumcision since it makes young men so brave’ (*Interview, 7th January, 2004*)

This view is not very different from Mr. Katenya’s. They both show geographical features to be responsible for violent tendencies, and viewed the Mbale violence as not unique but as usual, and a normal phenomena which is expected of the people in highland areas. While it is hard to rule out the fact that Bagisu men are thought to be aggressive, hostile and violent due to a socialised violent masculinity, the participants ignored the possibility that the topography of an area may contribute to making accessibility and management of conflicts either more or less difficult explaining why violence escalated more in Manjiya relative to Bungokho. Mbale and Kabale both have to cope with high population amidst land shortage besides inaccessibility and infrastructure underdevelopment; remote areas. Bungokho’s location [closer to the district head-quarters] allowed easy access to social structures and amenities unlike mountainous and remote Manjiya. The response to the violence was hence faster in Bungokho signifying the importance of access to social services like security agencies

in both conflict escalation and management during times of crisis. In fact, it can be explained that an economically deprived community with inadequate access to state provisions to alleviate adverse conditions yet faced with ever declining productivity is likely to harbour undercurrents of tension that could result into violence. The observation above in comparing the two peoples [Bakiga and Bagisu] as the 'violent' ones in the Uganda context is thus relevant as it highlights the significance of scarcity, infrastructure development and violence. The Bakiga like the Bagisu live in areas that are not easily accessible and their access to law enforcing agencies is hard [for both]. They are the most populated districts in Uganda, and both live on fragmented pieces of land; land shortage is real in the two areas, and they both almost entirely depend on agriculture for livelihood and income.

If circumcision practice could be considered to be a gauge for the bravery of young men and their violent nature as propounded by Katenya, it could be assumed that Bungokho would have been more violent than Manjiya case since the Bungokho rituals are more brutal in nature. It is not forever uncommon in the sub-counties of Bungokho for candidates to use hot pepper, ashes, salt and water on the fresh wounds during the circumcision; a rare practice in Manjiya. Circumcision culture cannot however be completely ruled out because during the rituals, bravery, independence and manhood by young men are applauded and emphasised; it is no wonder that these *brave* young men took arms to kill their own kin and kith during the violence. The independence of manhood and promises of wealth espoused during circumcision is therefore a plausible explanation for the violence. Since Mbale and Kabale are believed to have the highest numbers of homicide cases in Uganda, the problem of

violence and high topography areas in Uganda is a real problem worthy comprehending by relevant authorities.

Mr. Kwagwa a law enforcing officer and witness said,

‘...The violence was started by young men but was planned by old men. They were trying to solve a serious problem in this area (village)...Since time immemorial, in this area, there have been witches who did not want anyone to develop. They do not want anyone to go to school, build a good house or carry out progressive business. Anybody who attempted had to migrate or would be bewitched. The witches have caused many hazards, misfortunate and serious harm to many people in this community and people were tired, so they had to stop the witches before the witches would destroy them...’ (*interview, 27th February, 2004*).

This view shows that beliefs in witchcraft are a strong socio-cultural phenomenon. Many if not all participants seemed to generally concur that the trigger to the violence was witchcraft related allegations. Witch beliefs therefore continue to play a role in the lives of the people in Mbale as it is in the rest of the world; Ray, 1999; Mbiti, 1969, 1999; Heald, 1998; Green and Mesaki, 2005). It was after that that different parties and groups with varying motives (which are usually hidden) took advantage of the violent conflict situation to eliminate their enemies, opponents and fulfill other desires which varied from area to area, and case to case. Despite this, there was a yearning to get out of the vicious cycle of poverty trap, and people looked to getting rid of the perceived source of their under development in the area for positive change. Violence was hence a result of social economic problems of socialized violent masculinity, scarcity and deprivation to access basic resources being explained in cultural terms. The lived realities though were characterised by fear of the acts of witches who were depriving the whole community of education, decent housing or progressive business, good health and employment. It is no wonder that those who migrated are thought to progress yet in principle, the Bagisu are culturally against

migration and associate closely with their ancestral homes regardless of the circumstances.

A one Mr. Kuloba emphasised the problem of resource struggle at the time of the violence which are explained as witchcraft acts as below:

‘There has never been peaceful life in many parts in this community. There are personal conflicts over land and old grudges between families that are very real, but there is also the problem of witchcraft whereby people say others bewitch them...The problem of land shortage and poverty is there (very eminent or a real one). And when you educate your children more than others, there is a real problem. Someone will wonder why his children are not getting the same education and they will you are a witch, and have bewitched other children!...’
(Interview, 26th February 2004).

Mr. Kusolo, a civil servant at the district emphasised that he had personally suffered as a result of witchcraft, and was on the verge of using violence but restrained himself, and still regard violence to have been the best form of justice.

‘We had never experienced such violence in Bugisu but witchcraft can force you (one) to do anything. I have personally suffered as result of witchcraft...You may not believe (what I am saying) but the fact remains that these witches are out there, and when people get fed-up with them, they have to kill them so that life can be normal again...If you have been victim to what they do (witches), then you can know how someone feels...Violence comes out of anger, and even women can be violent but for this case, most people who killed were men but women were also annoyed with the witches...’ (interview, 19th January, 2004).

‘Witchcraft in diverse settings can become a means of making sense the contradictions of the contemporary capitalist world’ (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993:xxix as quoted by Green and Mesaki, 2005:372). Green and Mesaki articulated that this evident in dealing with demands of structural adjustment, undemocratic rule and political relations, Green and Mesaki, 2005). In 1995, Uganda was under military rule and structural adjustment programmes were at the peak. If mechanisms are put in place to manage grievances, then conflicts would be resolved without necessarily yielding to violence. Kusolo explained how he managed to get off the spell of

witchcraft when he sought religious healing with the help of family and friends. He solved most of the problems, and his daughter for example was restored to good health and was back in school.

Important to note is that it is the believed outcomes of witchcraft, and not witchcraft per se which seemed to be the real problem. If *witches* were not thought to be causing misery and suffering to others, then the violence may not have erupted in this area. In other words, if misery and deprivation were not widespread at the time in the area, then the purported harm by witches would have been minimal. Counselling, religion and relations played a vital role in Mr. Kusolo's situation to avert violence. Even if he still speaks with rage and anger about witches, he personally did not become violent, but said that those who killed had no better alternative other than to kill those who are thought to be silently harming and killing others in their communities.

Mr. Kusolo continued to explain that though witches were indeed the source of the violence, he had reason to believe that not all who were massacred were actually witches, and religion acted on curbing the cultural socialization of masculine violence in him to act violently.

'I have heard that some people were revenging over adultery issues. There was a case where someone organised people and killed a man who had used (had intimacy with) his wife while he was away in Kenya (during the confusion)...In Bufuma, someone killed a brother over land and the land case is still in the court up to now. The conmen also enjoyed during the confusion, they looted, and threatened some people who were not even targets to run away so that they could loot their property...People are idle, all those boys (young men) were illiterate and had no jobs, and above all did not have land. What could they do?'

One Mr. Guloba a civic leader and witness said:

'While in Manjiya, I learnt that people did not kill each other due to witchcraft but had other motives...But as far as I know, most people who were arrested in

our place were terrible witches and witch doctors. They were bewitching all those they were discontented with, those with whom they were in conflict, those they had had any difference with. People would consult witch doctors to bewitch their enemies...In Manjiya I also heard someone wanted to take over his brother's wealth. As you know, he had been entrusted with his business. So he knew that he would take over without any inconveniences if he killed his brother. And the killings brought that chance and by the way he succeeded' (*Interview, 12th December, 2003*).

While witchcraft can not be empirically verified rendering witchcraft related violence complex, still witchcraft plays a very important role in the social, economic and political lives of many people all over the world (Roy, 1999; Mbiti, 1969; Mbiti, 1990; Roberts R., 1985) as reflected above. The question of land scarcity, ongoing grudges (mostly over land), and land boundary with neighbours however was key in the conflict which later propelled anger and grudges which were later manifested in violence when there was a chance over enemies in 1995/96.

Rumours and hearsay also seem to have been regarded as absolute truth during the time of the violence. Besides, most young men go to towns mainly across the border to Kenya to seek employment and on coming back, they get information that some people were having relationship with their wives generating anger. And rumour of a wife having an extra marital relations affair was enough to make a man concerned to become angry and wait for an opportunity to avenge it.

The targets were usually those who were better off than others, and were thought to have caused the misery of others through the power of witchcraft. Poverty is prominent in the area, yet some people were thought to be progressing despite this general phenomenon. This caused many people to suspect that such lucky people had supernatural powers derived from witchcraft, and that these witches were responsible

for others misfortunes. Scarcity, frustration and envy thus did contribute to the victimisation of many, particularly in the county of Manjiya. The real motive even when witchcraft was used was actually felt deprivation, envy and jealousy of others success amidst widespread poverty in the area.

There were strong claims that the perpetrators aimed at making everybody like themselves (poor and helpless). It is explainable that young adults who were experiencing unsustainable livelihoods perpetrated the violence because they were themselves unable to discern what had relegated them to the lowest well-being ranks of society yet they had been promised abundance and autonomous power at initiation [during imbalu] resulting into unfulfilled masculinity. It is also explainable that elders had to adopt solidarity fashion of assessment of the problem in order to release the tension that may have identified them as complicit in the disfranchisement of the youth. They harboured fears of reprisals upon them for promising unattainable goals.

Ms Katisi who witnessed the violence and has close relations with some perpetrators as well as victims said:

‘What caused the conflict in my village was rumour mongering. Some people talk ill of others and when it is discovered, it brings a big conflict. Some people believe conflict will give them justice. Rumours were there and we are still involved in rumour mongering here...Some rumours are malicious intended to disorganise people. Some people told others that they had heard some people were witches and what started as a mere rumour grew and became bigger. Nobody confronted the said witches but kept the grudges. When death occurred, everybody pointed a finger at some people. Surprisingly, we had also heard those who died were witches since our childhood. So who was bewitching who? Another issue is that of administrative boundaries here, this village was one village before and now it has been demarcated. Up to now people do not know which village they belong to especially those at the borders. And when it comes to tax collection, they (chiefs/tax collectors) all come, and we are confused and do not know where to pay the tax. This made people kill each other and we hear due to conflict between the village leaders in villages that were once one, and even belong to the same clan...In fact as we talk now, we are still conflicting due to the demarcations...Our leaders sometimes fail development programmes and keep conflicting us and the people also do not respect the leaders and will

do what they want even if it is against the law, and this forces leaders to react negatively...even if some people were revenging but others wanted to threaten their relatives so that they can take over their wealth...Those who killed were the poor young men who are not even going to school and looked for those who have some land and cows. As we hear, someone gave them money to do the violent work.' (*Interview, 2nd February 2004*).

While Ms Katisi did not give further details on boundary demarcation, she brought out an issue of struggle for taxation revenue by leaders which is a general problem in the area. The president reduced the graduated tax during the presidential campaigns in 2001 to Sh 3,000 when the masses complained about high taxes for political gains. Other tax forms are still intact or were increased, and do not discriminate against the poor from the rich (for example a primary school teacher who earns gross income of £40 per month pays taxes while parliamentarians earning about £2000 monthly are exempted), and all classes of the society have to pay same rates when it comes to indirect taxes, more so on basic consumer goods.

In rural Mbale, taxation policy seems not to be well regulated. Taxes are rather high for most ordinary people, and most people live below the absolute poverty line. Some taxes are regarded as profits for private investors who do not necessarily reside in these areas. Participants in this study revealed that they were earning about £1.00 per week which is not sufficient for family upkeep, bearing in mind that there are extended families including orphans due to other social problems including HIV/AIDS. Besides this, most people in rural Mbale are increasingly dependent on the market for survival. Some basic items like food stuffs and vegetables were grown on their gardens but because of land scarcity and over cultivation of the available land plots, the harvests have dwindled over time, which in turn affects the general earnings because part of what is grown for subsistence is sold to complement other family basic needs.

Ms Katisi highlights some of the problems of the ongoing countrywide process of re-demarcation of political boundaries at different levels mainly for political reasons. My experience in the area showed that demarcation is being done without due regard to sustainability of the new entities which is creating tension and conflict as the burden of the already poor people to sustain such structures is increasing, the public bills have shot up benefiting the elites at the expense of the ordinary tax payer. This issue has been adequately covered in 'the second participatory poverty assessment report; deepening the understanding of poverty' (2002) though has not been linked directly to violence in intra communal situations.

Ms Kalenda a community leader said:

'I was not here during the violence but I have heard that the cause of that conflict was a fight for things (resources), because of the current problems (prevailing poverty) which you all know. Opportunities are only distributed among leaders and their relatives and friends. The people are taxed and left to suffer. Do you know that they tax even egg plants of less than 500 Shillings (18pences) which a woman picks from her garden to sell so that she can buy salt? ...so due to jealousy, the poor are angry and conflict with those who are eating (have). That is why...cows were targeted during the violence. The people wanted to get something also...there was also a problem between parents and sons. I heard the old man...had not given his son enough land and did not want him to marry but when the son married, the father did not want to give him any cows for dowry yet he had them, so the boy had to finish him during that time (violence). Our children are very wild nowadays. Any disagreement between parents and children especially boys over property is causing problems. The father has to think of the young ones and can not give everything to the older sons. He also must retain something for himself before he departs (death). But the blame is not for these boys alone, people are not as cooperative as they were those days and some parents do not want their children to be blamed or even punished by relatives if they go wrong. Should you try to put another person's child right, the next thing is accusations and the police. We wish to see good children but parents are discouraging us, and when they grow up and turn against them like that, whom do you blame? If you nurture a lion and feed it on other people's goats, once all the goats are finished in the village, where do you think it will turn when it gets hungry?' (Interview, 3rd February 2004).

Kalenda brings out the issue of corruption tendencies that are analysed further in Chapter Six. I will however highlight her emphasise of the problem of envy resulting from inequitable access to resources and deprivations as has been earlier propounded. My experience in the area was that corruption and graft in particular were almost institutionalised and benefiting those who have access to public positions. In a recent World Bank Report on Uganda, Cumming reported:

‘We did a survey in Uganda last August. It was the biggest Corruption Survey ever. We queried 100,000 people, around 2,000 service providers and then we had 350 focus groups. If you read those focus groups about the pain at the village level. The kids are dying because they can’t pay the bribes to the nurse. They lose the case because the judge is bought off. They have been beaten up by the police. There is a lot of pain among 75 or 80% of people, may be 90% in Africa’ (Cumming, 2005).

Institutions that would fight violence and other social vices are generally weak and the rule of law is not equally applicable. The prevention of corruption Act 1970 (POCA), does not explicitly define corruption making it difficult to handle corruption related problems according to Mr Katenya, a magistrate. This leads to increases in the cost of public expenditure and widens inequalities according to Mr Katenya. Such inequalities spur underdevelopment and they are harmful to growth (Knowles, 2005). Privatisation, commercialisation and corruption have increased social polarisation in the area; where only the affluent are able to cope with the economic situation even in rural areas. According to interview sources however, ‘witches’ were responsible for unemployment coupled with health problems leading to unexplained deaths. The blunt of tax amidst scarcity was another inequality in the area. High taxes also created tensions in the area which later execrated into the violence. The influential are said to have the ability of easily evading some taxation by paying a token to the tax collectors but the poor are the ones who face the blunt hand of taxation (UDC News Letter, 1995; Cummins, 2005; Langseth and Pezzullo, 2000).

It was also said that the young men who had migrated to Nairobi and other parts of Kenya for the case of Manjiya, and to Mbale, Malaba, Busia and Jinja towns for the case of Bungokho had learnt violent crime from these cities and brought it back to their villages. Participants mentioned that migrants to Nairobi in particular to have been the chief slaughters of the victims and they said they did it as experts, without fear yet are still scot-free, and it was alleged the experience was gained through criminal activities learnt in the city.

Mr. Kimono a police officer believed the criminals killed people because they were unemployed and illiterate:

‘Youths here do not work but feel they have authority, and are very illiterate. They do not know about the law that is why the violence took place here. There is a lot of poverty here, and there is no work. They take drugs that make them violent. Go to ...(drinking area) after here and you will see what I am talking about. We have now uprooted marijuana but clubs are already open now (early morning). They will tell you that alcohol makes them forget problems and they get satisfied (from hunger) and even women nowadays are also drinking heavily...Many women are there in the evening drinking instead of staying home...No, women did not kill anyone during the violence but they are also drinking and causing other crimes like domestic fights in their homes which we must handle...Men say government is spoiling the women and they are not obedient at all anymore...the killers we were told used to drink heavily too but this community was not very cooperative in assisting the law take its course that is why the violence spread. We are told principal perpetrators have gone scot-free because people did not want to take responsibility and blame their relatives in the community. Their names were not brought up and even if they were, some had run away and (but) when they returned, nobody has brought up a case against them and police can not act without the help of the public. Witnesses need to come up and report the case and that will give us the mandate to go ahead and arrest them. These people do not know that that was a criminal offence and can not be handled by the civil courts or even the clan but has to be handled by the high court which has the mandate to deal with serious crimes. They will continue to suffer if they do not cooperate with us (police) and what can we do? They will say we have not helped them and propagate things that are not correct about the police yet they have refused to help us bring the criminals to book’ (*interview, Manjiya, 1st March 2004*).

The source of the violence here is all interwoven yet rotates around poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and drug abuse, characteristic of the social situation and general underdevelopment in the area. It is clear that the relationship between the public and police is not so smooth, and people seem to have feared to report perpetrators. This makes conflict management and justice issues rather difficult to handle in the setting.

Mr. Kimbo an elder and survivor of the violence when asked why he thinks his own relatives wanted to kill him and his family said:

‘They hoped killing was less costly and faster. They wanted to be popular and take charge of the clan. Even if we all come from the same clan. Those who were targets were those from ... because as you know we were from two women and our great ancestor (woman) was the eldest wife and most favoured. Her lineage inherited the current position from her and in fact the best lands and clan leadership is ours; which made those people jealousy and this has been going on for long which they must accept. The low lands were exclusively ours because ... (steep slope) where they were supposed to live were washed by rains and those soils are washed downwards not upwards. These people came in the plains just recently when land started being sold. You can even realise that it is the children from...(my) clan who have achieved in (modern) education but these people cannot accept the fact that we are brothers and we are not responsible for their fate. For us we are passing away and children who would have fostered unity are the killers. We had never killed each other before. These children (perpetrators of violence) are ignorant and have no hope for a good life. They want everyone to be like them but this is impossible. By killing us, they thought they would inherit our wealth and send us (survivors) in exile. Instead they are the ones in exile now and have to beg us if they want to return. Whatever other people may have told you, in our case here it was the cooperative society that brought problems...sons wanted to have full control but feared me because I know about cooperatives and also know people in Mbale. They had eaten (misappropriated) the farmers money, and by causing confusion, they took all the rest of the money and if you think I am wrong (not telling the truth), ask them where they got the cars from after that incident. Were they having any cars before then? Do you know why the cars are getting accidents every time and again even if we have allowed them on our roads here. The money has blood and you will hear that people are bewitching them again. I do not use their cars and cannot use them even if they were to take me for free. We cannot eat together gain. There is blood between us now...’ (*Interview, 16th February 2004*).

This account is indicative that the violence was socioeconomic as well as political thus had multi-causes and its management thus demand a multi-dimensional or multi-faced strategy and understanding (Ropers, 1998, Lund, 1998). Otherwise, it would be a case where a symptom [trigger by witchcraft allegation] is addressed but not the hidden source. This may make the conflict dormant for sometime but not extinct and would erupt at any opportunity since the bitter roots [struggle over scarce resources and violent masculinity] were not addressed.

The testimony brings out clear clan power struggles that were not visible till the violence was triggered off as well as economic struggles over the cooperative society. Cooperative societies used to play a dominant role in the socio-economic, and political lives of the people in rural communities. These were avenues through which local farmers controlled the quality, negotiated prices, and marketed their cash crops. They would also access credit through these cooperatives. With the collapse of cooperative societies countrywide since the 1990s, so much has changed in Mbale were cooperatives played a significant role in the socioeconomic and political lives of the people; buyers now purchase directly from the farmers. At the time of the research, the people were agitating for the revival of the cooperative societies countrywide, and the government was positive and promising the support of cooperatives revival.

In Mbale, the Bugisu cooperative union was employing more than 8000 people at the union alone and coffee worked as a buffer for school fees; hence children could easily go to school. This changed as the societies have collapsed due to privatisation; local firms could not compete with multi-nationals who are operating in the area. Coffee is being sold as it flowers to multinationals agents and resources consumed as they come. The employment opportunities provided by the union and societies are no more, and

most coffee plantations have since been replaced by food crops due to land scarcity and low yields from aging coffee, affecting the income of the people in the area. The benefit is that coffee is bought directly.

Leadership and power struggle were also intertwined with the economic struggles, and these led to the violence. Ms Katisi and Ms Kalenda's accounts of the youths paid to avenge deaths in a particular village show how economic empowerment and political power can be manipulated to influence those in need to participate in acts of violence. Mr. Kuloba an LCV councillor put blame on government for inability to provide security on some occasions for enabling the escalation of the violence in 1995/96.

'We have been attacked by thugs from Kenya but we get no help from government. If government had acted with force after the Bufumbo incident, the situation would have been different in Manjiya. I think government caused the violence by not acting fast enough; so people took their own decision...'(*Interview, 26th February 2004*).

The people in Mbale are said to have resorted to resolving the conflict violently partly because institutional response had been slow and was not fully trusted due to some previous experience with thugs in Manjiya. There was a fear that the security organs would not be able to handle their grievances appropriately. This is in line with Nabudere's argument that justice structures are perceived especially by the poor [like those in rural Mbale] who are the majority in the great lakes region as slow, ignorant in dealing with traditional matters, inaccessible and unjust (Nabudere, 2002). The release of suspected witches without charge in Bungokho in a way contributed to the people of Manjiya to handle suspects the way they felt would give them justice. This is because the people did not trust that the justice system would give them satisfactory justice, as they saw the 'criminal witches' released without charge or explanation to

the people who had taken it upon themselves to arrest the 'witches'. The contradictions of legality and justice between the courts of law and the traditions are manifested.

What even may have made the situation worse was that despite the lack of trust in the justice system, local leaders who would have reinforced justice and ensure laws were respected were actually not entirely excluded from planning the violence in Manjiya. Mr. Kimbo for example confessed that he was warned to escape by a local leader. He narrated that that particular local leader was in fact involved in all the planning of the violence in order to win the elections which were due soon. He aimed at branding would be competitors in the elections witches. Other voices thought this leader was aware of the planned violence, attended meetings, protected perpetrators because they were voters and relatives but did not personally mastermind the violence. The fact that he warned many was a sign that he was not agitating for violence against anyone.

Another view is that he warned only his relations and most influential persons to escape but left the rest to be killed even when he was aware of the impending danger. He is said to have participated in the meetings that decided on the violence and sanctioned the youth to kill witches. They argue that failure to take an initiative to report to higher authorities about the impending danger was a sign that he actually condoned violent acts in the area. There is also a view that he wanted to portray himself as pro-people and not as an organ of government contrary to his duty as a government agent. Since he was elected by his people and elections for local council were coming the following year, the situation seemed tricky for him; leaving him in the middle, and it is very difficult to understand on whose side he was during the violence.

Thus, some leaders used their positions to instigate the violence, while others used them to seek for structural support from the district to end the violence. Others escaped only to come back after the violence. In terms of conflict management, good leadership is seen as crucial and if constructively used, it can help bring positive results from even an ugly situation since those leaders who sought to use their positions well during the crisis helped stop the violence.

Mr. Kamali a survivor and leader show explicitly the importance political power in violence;

‘I was motivated to help bring about peace because I had witnessed my own grandfather brutally killed when I was just seven, and have never lost (erased) that incident from my heart (memory), [he broke down and sobbed]...I did not want to tell you this as you know...it has been very hard for me since I lost my grandfather because he was so close to me, and he was my best (real) friend. I used to (sleep at his house) stay with him in his home... It was one of the perpetrators who saved me then because he was related to my mother otherwise they were going to kill me too that day. He also had relatives in the group and we were told he insisted that if they (group) can not allow him to throw me out of the house during the murder, they had to kill him too otherwise he would not be party to the killing of my grandfather. We know those responsible and I am very careful when dealing with them because you cannot know what is on their minds. What happened in our area in 1996 is not different, it was not the witches but the hated ones who were killed and our leaders even at the highest level like MPs (members of parliament) were directly involved in what happened’ (*Interview, 1st April 2004*).

Mr. Kamali’s grandfather was allegedly thought to be a witch and was murdered by unknown people. He believes envious relatives were responsible for his grandfather’s death, because he was very progressive in the area at the time [way back in the 1960s]. Others allege that the police and the judicial system did not adequately resolve festering cases and thus the violence was used to settle them. Mr. Kamali said:

‘It was not easy to report anything before the violence even if you say signs (meetings) were there at the time before the violence. The LCs were in the

meetings so to whom would you expect the people to report to? I said even some important people like MPs were behind and happy about everything. Who has more money? Who would the police listen to? Would they listen to you or the MP?. The police need transport and paper to write a statement or to arrest someone. Do you think it is easy for us (the poor) to win a case when big people are involved, so even the court was not important to the people and the killers knew this very well...The victims have nothing to do now because what happened has happened and they can not bring anyone (the dead relatives) back, so there is no reason to bother with the courts and the police' (*Interview, 12th March 2004*).

Other people when explaining the possible source of the violence said that the government policy of evicting people from the Mt Elgon national park created a conflict situation that later contributed to the violence escalations. Conflicts and grudges over land were reported but it was not clear whether these were directly linked to the violence though it was clear the evictions had caused serious conflicts between returnees and some people in the affected areas. What is certain is that the violence escalated few months after the hostile evictions in Mbale. This aspect requires further examination and consideration when designing policy for durable peace in the area. It is clear to note that the forest evictions and privatisation in order to expand the Mt Elgon National Park have created tensions as people lost customary rights over land, and this was followed by the anti-witchcraft conflict in the area. While some who were evicted were refunded the money and regained control of their old plots of land outside the forest area, all did not succeed in doing this. This created tension, conflicts and later violence especially among close relations.

The ongoing global warming, and campaigns from different lobby groups towards natural resources and environmental protection have promoted environmentally friendly policies in Uganda. One of such policies is the tree planting and a forestation policy. The government of Uganda has earmarked and re-enforced forest preservation

and gazetted Mt Elgon forest area (despite the acute land problem in Mbale district), and has now made it a national park. Those who were solely dependent on the forest resources have found themselves landless and poor. Many in Bufumbo sub-county and Manjiya County in particular had sold off their ancestral plots in the villages at a cheaper price to settle in the forest common land only to find out later that land had become very expensive and scarce when they were forced to evacuate the forest area after it had been earmarked as a national park. Recent revelations after my fieldwork are indicative that some of these affected people will be paid some sort of resettlement package after the local political leadership intervention in the crisis. All the same, the gazetting policy has had social, economic and political implications, and has created tensions and conflict in the community affected by the environmental protection policy in the area.

It has come out very clearly that land is a crucial issue in the social relations and land pressure is continuing to grow in the area. Clan and interpersonal wrangles and tensions usually revolve around land. The people in this area almost depend entirely on land for survival and the Mbale district motto says it all; '*Bagisu and their land*'. It cannot therefore be easily dismissed that clan elders instigated young men because of historical land inequalities between clan members besides the unfulfilled promises of abundance at circumcision to the youth. This loss of land through displacement from the reserve seems to have aggravated apathy and envy which formed a basis for conflict development after it had impacted the community. This has led to fragile lives and livelihoods; a bedrock of lost hope of independence autonomy and abundance which leads to desperation upon which violence can thrive. Access to land is key to family survival, equity, and social justice in other parts of Africa (Pankhurst, 1996;

Pankhurst, 1999C) where communities still depend heavily on this resource and the proper comprehension of this fact can provide a ground for durable peace and development.

A widow who preferred anonymity explained that it was alleged that her son had killed the father [her husband] during the crisis because of land disagreements; when the father refused to be refunded money for a plot he had bought from his son, the son had nowhere to go after the evacuation. She believed her son was innocent but someone else took advantage of the tension in the family to kill her husband and disorganise the family during the confusion of the violence period. 'They just wanted my son in jail so that they could take over all our land' she asserted.

My experience in the area is that the Bagisu are adamant on relocation policy and strongly believe in being buried in their ancestral homeland at all costs. Migrations are usually temporary. In 1999, there were landslides that claimed many lives and property, and there were suggestions by government to reallocate those in danger but the people refuted this policy, and had not left their villages during the time of the fieldwork. The few who were reallocated at the time of the crisis had come back four years later. While the study does not intend to analyse the reallocation policy, it is important to highlight the importance of land and rigidity of the people to move despite the increasing population and land scarcity in the area. The tensions over land boundaries and inheritance problems, which in turn affect socio economic and political relations and sustainable development in Mbale frequently came up during the research. As Hartman and Boyce envisaged, land issues should be considered in

the sustainable development policy of less developed economies (Hartman and Boyce, 1983) like Uganda.

4.2: 3 Multifaceted Sources of the Violent Conflict

What different people said was the source of the violent conflict varied from person to person. Existing records on the violence are very silent about sources. Documentations available in courts of law and police are on homicide cases; implicated on sorcery related violence in 1995/96. Most files on perpetrators and key suspects were missing in the records I looked at, and what is available does not tally with the numbers of those believed to have been taken to court during the violence from the primary sources.

The available evidence gathered from interviews, observation and situational analysis thus moves beyond the common belief by the media at the time of the violence that the Mbale crisis was an issue of poor and unemployed youth who in the attempt to cleanse off their community from witchcraft caused the violent conflict. In fact the Mbale conflict situation was a complex one, and resolving the disharmonies will require drastic social change in both traditional as well modern structures of the society. Suffice to note however is that unemployed youth experiencing chronic poverty, declining productivity, prevalent disease and further influenced by the consumerist culture of urban areas necessarily exhibited the spill over of the undercurrents of social tensions caused by economic deprivation. All the young men who are suspected to have perpetrated the violence were unemployed and all except one had gone beyond primary education. Some of them had been to towns of Uganda and returned home. All of them had been initiated into manhood.

Having been assured of success upon initiation, many of these disillusioned youth found it befitting to blame their misfortune on 'witches.' All that was required was a single incidence such as that provided by the born-again Christian and the backing of the elders to actualise the violence. All evidence from the fieldwork and district records suggest changing social dynamics and structural adjustments in the area that had direct bearing on the socioeconomic and political relations on the people in the district. It is no wonder that those suspected to have been behind the killings were vulnerable and poor youth in a drastically changing environment.

Past grievances and witch doctors were also important in the violent conflict eruption which brings out the critical role of witchcraft and witch doctors in the lives of the people in this community and how many people attribute a range of unpleasant happenings to witchcraft; such as accidents, unexplained deaths, chronic and incurable diseases, epidemics, crop failure, failure of women to have sons, death of livestock, and unemployment among others. Evidence shows that it was not difficult to instigate the youth against a particular person as being responsible for such misfortunes. Since belief in witchcraft played a significant role in triggering off this violence, there is a need to address attitudes and beliefs in conflict management for sustainable peace enhancement in the area.

All in all, this purported witchcraft in itself did not lead to the violence that was sanctioned and approved by prominent persons, such as elders, the rich and local leaders. Strong beliefs and attitudes in witchcraft, rivalry, land grabbing politics and other socio economic disparities are critical in defining the sources of the Mbale violence. It is thus apparent that to manage conflicts of this nature demand careful

planning and coordination in addressing the interplay and usually multifaceted sources (Sikoska and Solomon, 2002; Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999) on part of all stakeholders in leadership and policy. Hence, if any strategy is to yield lasting peace in this area, it is necessary to look at the culture of violent masculinity, social grievances resulting from the injustices of socio-economic and political deprivation, and inequities that lead to frustration, envy and suspicion, and subsequently to violence at any slightest opportunity.

4.3: 1 Conclusion

While poverty sometimes enhances hard-work, cooperation and togetherness in fighting for a common cause, and people tend to get involved in activities that would enable them improve their conditions and move forward, for the case of Mbale, poverty and scarcity bred feelings of frustration, despair, jealousy, envy and apathy towards those who were much better off than the rest of the people in their villages. The struggle for the limited and constantly deteriorating available resources created tension which played a key role in escalating the violence in Mbale in 1995/96 when it was triggered off. Here, mainly unemployed youth with the permission of some elders and other local leaders turned against their own community members whom they suspected of being behind their impoverished situations, misfortune and problems in life through purported witchcraft acts. Scarcity and cultural attributes of autonomous and independent masculinity inculcated into male youths at initiation to manhood bred a sense of hopelessness and frustration; when young men who had failed to actualize the promises of real manhood as propounded by the Gishu culture forced them into violent acts. Strategies for peaceful socio-economic and political development therefore need to address the sources of frustration [deprivation] that lead to violent conflict in managing such conflicts. It is also difficult to disentangle

cultural factors from socio-economic deprivation, if sustainable peace and development can be achieved; thus, addressing the interplay of the two is vital and necessary. Economic empowerment as well as clear political participation is what is required, besides education and training to help in up rooting the deep-rooted beliefs and reducing poverty, besides being better equipped to handle situations of tension. The next chapter moves on to examine the consequences of this violent masculinity and scarcity related violence upon a community.

Chapter Five: The Mbale Violent Conflict: Consequences and Implications

5.1:1 Introduction

This chapter, by looking at the aftermath of the conflict situation, analyses what different parts view to be the consequences and implications of the violence. The human costs in terms of lives lost, and the suffering that this leaves in its wake as those left behind attempt to pick up their life, are immense. This chapter is concerned with studying a post violent situation to point to the effects of violence to sustainable peace and development. Scholars of conflicts and peace seem to agree that violence leads to further violence in many different ways (Lund, 1996, 1999B; Nation, 1999; Turshen, 2001; Butalia, 2001; Lederach, 2004; Madman, 2001; Mudoola, 1989; Prunier, 1995,). This attempt to examine the consequences of violence in an intra-communal setting provides a basis to underscore the importance of conflict management; in order to deter the outbursts of spectacular violence. The Mbale violent conflict has had serious consequences; socially, economically and politically, and is likely to take time and resources to restore. This violence affected the Mbale area and even beyond in different ways regardless of gender, age and affiliations. Stories gathered from different people in the area form a basis for an argument that seeks to explain why long term and self sustaining peace needs to be sought for the development of an entity. And above all why deterring recurrence of violence is vital for prosperity to thrive in this poverty stricken part of Uganda. To sum it up, for the people of Mbale and communities that suffered the violent conflict in particular, life will never be the same after what happened. The violence has aggravated the already sorry state in the region to more complex proportions.

5.2:1 Consequences of the Violent Conflict

A decade hence, the Mbale violence has left its mark and its impact in the region. It has affected and continues to affect social relations, people's views on the justice system, the police and on unequal access to resources. There are continued legacies of injustices including land grabbing, psychological torture and trauma, and changing power relations in the aftermath period. There is evidence worldwide that violence can have serious and lasting impact whatever its nature (Galtung, 1996; Bredel., 2003; Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Lund., 1998; Cockburn, 2001). It is essential that the consequences and effects of violence are highlighted; not for the sake of showing what damage the violence has caused but more important is to question why the consequences were gendered, and argue for a need to understand the changing power relations as well as shift in roles, responsibilities during the post violence situation based on practical realities. The Mbale violence for example has had varying affects and lasting impact on the operations of social, economic and political life and there's real and urgent need for conflict management and sustainable peace initiatives in the area to initiate and restore sustainable peace, and sustainable development in the post conflict period. This is because the marks of the violence have not been removed, and the community has not shifted its views on witchcraft despite indications that many, including those who participated in the violence were yearning for the old good times [positive peace]; reflected in the many contradictions, where someone yearns for peace but at the same time justifies what was done to the suspected witches.

5.2: 2 Lives Lost

The violence also led to the loss of many lives. It is estimated that about 60 killings were registered over a period of just two weeks besides fatal injuries that were not clearly established. The identities of those killed in Bungokho were not easily

available but it was clear two suspected witches died at the sub-county in Bufumbo due to stampede during the police interventions in the area, and there is no consensus on the number of those who actually died from Mbale hospital or on the way to the police station in Mbale town. I gathered that for the case of Manjiya, Bumushiso parish in Bushika registered the highest numbers according to the memories of respondents in Manjiya area but no records of the identities and exact numbers are available at the sub-county quarters or neighbouring police posts to verify this. Police witnesses of the violence at Bushika said at least seven persons were murdered in Bumushiso parish alone during the violence.

Mulinde-Musoke and Malime wa Gamusi, (The New Vision, 1996) reported that in Bulucheke sub-county, 36 people were butchered to death, and forty three people including LC III Chairman were arrested and persecuted in the courts of law. In another article they contradicted themselves by saying '48 people to have been killed in Bulucheke sub-county alone' (ibid). Mr Kimono said that 48 people were killed in Manjiya while Mr Kamali claimed 48 were killed in Bulucheke and that Manjiya county registered at least 58 people which was in line with one Mr Kimbo who said that the total number of people killed in the violence were 60 persons, two from Bungokho and the rest from Manjiya county. In one incidence it was reported that the victim who had received prior warning of the impending danger prepared himself and managed to kill one of the perpetrators and sliced off a hand of another before he was eventually overpowered and killed. Hence, except for this and the case of a member of the gang who was killed for alleged betrayal of the group, all the people killed were victims suspected of witchcraft.

The local administration and the police did not have exact records on the number of casualties or the extent of the material loss. Primary sources at the Mbale Central Police revealed that about 50 people were killed but no records could back this. Likewise the records of homicide related cases at the time, and convictions to the courts of law do not seem to show that the district experienced increase in cases during 1996; the peak of the violence, relative to others years over the time frame of 10years posing a serious challenge.

There were no significant difference in the number of homicide cases recorded during the period of the massacre and thereafter, yet verbal reports from the police records claimed that the violence led to more homicide cases than other times in the history of the area which I find somehow contradictory, confusing and disturbing. Likewise, the courts did not have files or records related to the Manjiya cases in particular, except for the Bungokho cases. The killings took place and cases were handled at the magistrate's courts as well as high court in Mbale, but files related to the same could not be easily located by the filing clerks despite the fact that permission was granted by the authorities to look at the files and how the court proceedings had taken place. Whether the violence related data was omitted from the records for some reasons or deliberately erased, there is evidence from the voices of survivors and witnesses that people were murdered and erasing it from historical records serves no purpose. In fact, valuable life was lost, development time wasted and property lost as a result of the violent conflict. The survivors and their associates seem to have been the worst hit by this human and property loss. Violence retards the development process and erodes development foundation as people are killed and others abandon their homes, their education and livelihoods. Others flee to far off places: as socio economic and

political infrastructures are damaged and useful resources are diverted from maintaining existing infrastructures to curbing violence. This depletes resources and complicates any efforts aimed at creating a suitable environment for sustainable development (Ball, 2002).

5.2: 3 Property Loss and Displacement

It is reported that there was massive loss of property in the areas that suffered the violence. Mr. Masaba a survivor said,

‘They (perpetrators) destroyed everything in their reach and if you were to see this place afterwards (after the violence), you would not expect a single soul to have survived...All that was left was that coffee plantation but otherwise all was destroyed and some (valuables) carried away’ (*Interview, 16th December 2003*).

Mr. Masaba is back in his home and seems to have managed to pick up the pieces. The socio-economic condition of Mbale is not very impressive as highlighted in chapters one and four of this thesis. My experience in the area was that life was becoming harder each day that passes for the ordinary person, and holding on what one already has is very necessary. In fact most people in the area live in what could be termed miserable conditions and vicious cycle of poverty due to general scarcity and deprivation. For such poor people, indulging in acts of violence would not be worthwhile since the destruction of hard earned properties can be very hard to replace. It is no doubt therefore that ‘whether we are speaking of relations between strong and weak economies, inequality weakens the inhibition against aggression. It legitimates violence towards people considered worthless, and those who are made to feel of scant value sometimes resort to violence to gain self-respect or power’ (Cockburn, 2001). This seems to be a fact that one cannot easily dismiss in the Mbale situation, where cultural masculinity means power and independence passed over to young men

after initiation. When this was not finally actualised, the purported source was identified and targeted.

Mr. Kisibo whose sister was thought to be a witch by the perpetrators of the violence said:

'They killed my sister and I have to take care of her family now. The young man you met outside is one of the orphans...Those boys (perpetrators) also looted lots of property and cut down all my banana plantations. When I ran away, I stayed in the police barracks in Mbale with some of the family members for many years and it took me time to resume teaching after I was displaced. Some people have not returned because they went to Kenya and Buganda. As for my case, I was lucky because I resumed teaching later when I was offered a position in the town until I returned here but other people did not have anything to eat after running away and it has been hard for them to even come back because most of their property was looted or destroyed. Meanwhile those who thought others were behind their problems and poverty are still poor even after what they did to us here. I am now struggling to restore what was lost but they will turn around tomorrow that I use witchcraft and sorcery to be what I am. Did you find me here when you came? I was already out working (gardening) before I can go to office (teacher)...Some people (those who flee the violence) may come back when life becomes normal again but are still reluctant to do so now because they do not know how to begin living in this place again' *Interview: Manjiya, 3rd February 2004*). (

This raises important issues. There is the question of dependants and orphans created after the violence. There also the question of coping with life after displacement during the violence in unfamiliar places and either fear or hardship associated with resettling for the survivors after they migrated. This massive and tragic loss of lives has thus left a lasting mark on the psyche of the people in the post conflict period and suffering on the part of the dependants of the victims of the massacres who are forced to cope with the loss of their loved ones despite the prevailing hardships and scarcity of resources in the area. Mr Kisibo could be among the lucky ones to have been employed after displacement and is even back trying to pick the pieces together. Other

survivors have not yet returned and in a country where the social sector is in shambles, they are leading very difficult lives.

Stories of loss of property were many, and it was said that the perpetrators needed food to feast during the crisis and usually targeted properties of the victims who had run away. It was reported that a lot of feasting took place in the open day by the killers before security operatives took charge of the area in Manjiya. Bungokho on the other hand did not report lots of property loss due to the duration and intensity of the violence relative to Manjiya. 'The victims had their properties looted', reported Mulinde Musoke and Wa Gamusi (1996) during the violence. Other reports revealed that the perpetrators aimed at destroying the high yielding but expensive imported cows of the victims. Some of the cows were slaughtered and purportedly consumed by the perpetrators during the feasting. Many peasants I talked to now fear restocking such cows after the incident as these would be targets of theft and hatred yet such cows are more suited to the area due to land scarcity. They can be zero grazed and the favourable weather conditions make them economical. The trends of the violence negatively affects development and general welfare of the communities concerned due to forward and backward linkages that such ventures provide in the development matrix.

Many people still live in misery away from home but fear to return because they feel real peace and reconciliation has not taken place and would rather live like that than go back because they are not sure whether all would be fine with them at home. One of such people is Mr. Kimanayi who lives in the outskirts of Mbale town after running

from the violence in his village. He lost his uncle in the violence and his family was also targeted.

His wife (Kimanayi's) said:

'We miss home but we cannot go back now because the killers were never arrested and must be planning to complete their agenda. When we first came, it was so difficult especially for my husband and the children but things are getting better. Just imagine that we had to buy everything here yet we did not have any money. While the children slept at night, we could sneak out and pick cereals on the street where trucks are loaded and off loaded during the day; that is how we survived. At one time, I had to steal yams from the swamp and stored them. He did not like this but the children did not know that food was hard to come by. They wanted food. If you had seen me then, I was like a stick (thin) and you would think I would be blown by the wind any time. We managed like that. My husband later got a job as a labourer at the construction site. He did not want to work there but we had to pay rent. I had also known where the mills were and would help winnow cereals before milling morning to sunset. That is how I managed to feed my children and we have now got used to this. We wanted to sell land home but they wanted to cheat us so we left and they are happily using our land while us we are hiring land here before we can use it. One day, we may return. Or our children may go back if they want to' (Interview, 3rd March 2004).

Mr. Kibeti a suspected perpetrator of the violence who had been released from prison due to insufficient evidence to prosecute him, told me that they destroyed the properties of witches to make them feel the pinch of poverty which they (witches) were deliberately causing on their victims (perpetrators):

'...we wanted them to know (experience) what we (community) go through,... we wanted them to be like us...their property had been acquired through witchcraft and they use the wealth that accrues from such assets to get more witchcraft powers (from other witches), and to bewitch whatever we try to put hands on. They even destroy gardens of others. This used not to happen here. We would not mind very much because herbs to counteract this (poor yields due to witchcraft spells) are in the market...but then they killed three important persons (here) in just one month. Would you let them (alleged witches) to continue to live if it had happened to you'? (Interview 18th February 2004).

The destruction of plantations seem to have been a deliberate act to disorganize the victims and render them helpless, and possibly hinder them from returning even when the situation cooled down. Mr. Kibeti does confirm that the act of destruction was

aimed at destroying the power base of the said witches so that they could be like others in the villages; poor. Those who were better off were targeted so that perceived equality could be restored in the community according to this revelation, and as long as the conditions of the poor are not improved, such beliefs of witchcraft related misfortunes are likely to continue towards those who are more fortunate in this area. The acts of violence against the 'witches' was also to deter them from causing further damage and pain in the area; most notably, mysteriously destroying gardens of others leading to poor yields, and causing deaths of predominant persons.

The violence thus aimed at frustrating individual development initiatives of suspected witches who were prosperous yet others were not. It is thus necessary that all efforts are made to promote equity, improve health conditions and restore a sense of community belonging to enable harmonious co-existence, and joint quest for the general improvement of life in the areas that suffered the violence. The first step in doing this is to address the question of scarcity and violent masculinity, and that of attitude; fostering envy and jealousy manifested in witchcraft beliefs between the haves and supposed have-nots in the area.

The violence has created a situation where the run-away migrants did not limit themselves to the local vicinity but stretched as far as neighbouring Kenya where about ten alleged perpetrators of the violence are still hiding to date. Many of these are thought to be hardcore criminals and whatever they may be exactly doing in Kenya remains a mystery. The Mbale violence was thus contagious and spilt over to other areas within and without the country.

Those who migrated but have since returned to the village have had to adjust to new situations. Mr Masaba a survivor of the violence told me that he found it hard to settle back after the short lived migration:

‘While life was harder in town, it was not like here. I never slept on a hungry stomach and life was far better because during daytime, no one knew how/where you resided at night and no one cared. At least one can find something to do and every person could buy food according to the means he has at the time. Food is more expensive here than in town you can imagine, and in town there was a variety. So, I can not say it was easy there but coming back to this life was hard but home is home and I always want to be here even when I may not enjoy life like those in town’ (*Interview, 16th December, 2003*).

Though life was harder for him wherever he was, it was only after he returned that he realised that life in his village seemed harder. So, migration and resettlement exposed many to new experiences which would not be experienced if the violence had not occurred. Many others still live in misery away from home but fear to return because they feel real peace and reconciliation has not taken place, and would rather live like that than go back because they are not sure whether all would be fine when they returned home.

Mr. Kitutu a suspected perpetrator of the violence and now in neighbouring Kenya who was interviewed in his refuge home, left a young family behind and has not settled in one area because if he settled in one place, he said he would be targeted by either his *enemies* or the law. He says that he has been told that police files would be open for ten years within which they have to arrest them and after that, these files will be closed. This is when he hopes to return. This presents a serious challenge to the law that seems to be time bound. This person will easily return despite the fact that he does not seem to show remorse for his actions:

‘...the witches are bad, we just tried to avenge the deaths of our *fathers* (whose deaths were attributed to alleged witchcraft) but can not understand why the government continues to protect the witches’ (*interview 19th February 2004*).

Many like him need real help to change their attitudes if positive peace is to return at all in this region. I talked to another alleged perpetrator from Manjiya and now in hiding in Kenya, who said he had a job and is not threatened by possible revenge from home. He said his colleagues have not got permanent jobs and have since moved from town to town. He stealthily comes to his village but cannot move freely and must conceal all his movements and plans. He was looking forward to returning after some time when the memories of the people are more distant and the past has been put in the past. He however showed no regrets of what had happened during the violence. There were general fears though that he is still dangerous since he is believed to be keeping and moving with a gun whenever he comes to the area in question.

Re-establishing normal life has been very difficult for both survivors who escaped violence and alleged perpetrators who escaped justice to other places, as well as those who were in custody for sometime but were never convicted and have since been released. And while those in ‘refuge’ may wish to return, some who have manipulated the situation have had their lives improved due to the violent conflict and many had voluntarily moved out of the villages to Mbale town with their newly acquired wealth. The violence paved a way for some people to illegally grab resources during the confusion from victims who were doing anything possible including bribery to get justice, and from suspected perpetrators who had escaped justice.

5.2: 4 Psychological violence, Trauma and Social Dis-integrations

The violence has both planted and regenerated a deepened seed of hatred among different parties during the aftermath period, and this has not been addressed at all in the whole area. Fear and discrimination are very strong feelings in the area and is thought to be emanating from the effects of the violence. There were cases of people who may be highly traumatised and mentally ill, and some who have since mysteriously died after the violence was reported.

Some participants when explaining the manner in which people were hacked to death would burst into tears showing how the violence has had lasting impact on their psyche. Ms Kharono could not sustain the interview due to personal experiences and confessed that I had been the first person outside her immediate family to talk to her about that violence. Even when she did not say she has had difficulties coping with the situation ten years later, the tears, sobs and later the silence explained it all. She did not want anyone to know I had talked to her and was living in close vicinity with persons she said killed her husband and son. Many other survivors were living in fear and were not sure how the situation could be when perpetrators who were never punished finally return from their hiding. Mrs Kimanayi and others have been kept from returning home due to related fears.

Many survivors are highly insecure since some perpetrators are still at large. Some of them said that since the guns were believed to have been used during the violence were never recovered by the police, they must have been kept, and the perpetrators are just waiting for an opportune time to strike again. One survivor reported that he is being threatened and that some people in the community openly show apathy and suspicion towards him because he has made their loved ones be in exile. Fear and

insecurity seem to a major reason why even some perpetrators are still scot-free because the survivors fear counter revenge and they have no courage to report or give witness against them in the courts of law.

Mr Kamali revealed that he had learnt of three persons who participated in the violence when had become insane in Bulucheke area. Mr Kimbo said two elders in his village who were behind the violence did so less than two years after the violence and one was even found dead away from home. The relatives of these people however claimed that the remaining witches had taken revenge through witchcraft. Some witnesses maintain that those people were unable to bear the realities of what they had started. They became traumatised and died few months later due to mental illness that may have emanated from the trauma suffered either during or after the violence. Two of these were said to have directly been involved in planning the killings.

Ms Kainza reported that the perpetrators and their relatives are not allowed to share anything with the survivors to date. In the village drinking joints, sharing of drinking straws let alone sitting around the same brew pot in the drinking place with any close relations of the victims is not possible. The hands of perpetrators are still stained with blood of relations of survivors. They are thus considered enemies and generally isolated during social gatherings. There is blame, suspicion and counter blame on both sides. Relatives of the perpetrators are not exempted from different forms of torture and blame including discrimination, open insults, intimidation and general apathy in their communities particularly during social functions and gatherings. They have continued to carry the blame for the supposed wrongs of their kin and kith as a lineage shared responsibility.

Mr Kuddu revealed that he tries to avoid social gatherings due to the fear of expected hostile reception and likely revenge such as poison from the survivors. He said that relations were more mutual and less hostile before the violence even when he also claimed that there were eminent tensions and hatred between some families prior to the overt violence in some areas. This view is widely shared in this community and what seems to be being guarded against by both sides is counter revenge for the deaths and imprisonments. Revenge over death among the Bagisu is important and culturally approved (Heald, 1998). Loss of human life is avenged no matter what the motive of the killing may have been and how long it may have taken, and revengeful killings are thought to be common in the area though not reported; which presents a complex scenario to post violence peacebuilding and sustainable peace in this area. This fear of revenge subsequently affects the operations of the justice system in many ways having a direct bearing on the conflict management process and peace.

Mr. Katenya commented that what is feared in the post conflict situation is revenge because the Bagisu unlike other tribes in Uganda do not consider other forms of compensation for their dead except counter blood loss through counter avenging which may go on for decades. According to him, though this may not be openly declared in courts of law or reported at all, many homicide cases are thought to be revengeful acts or resulting from male aggression (see Heald, 1998, 1999). This is how power is exercised in the clan structure in this community.

The consequences of this violence were thus deeper and more lasting than the immediate effects of human and physical property loss. The perpetrators like victims

and their relatives were facing social stigma in the community at the time of the research, making the situation tense and rather complex to fully comprehend. Mr. Gidudu reported that most people do not have healthy relations in his village since communication and trust are lacking after the violence. He said that even in village meetings, some people just oppose ideas of those they think are their enemies just for the sake of it, and they view anything from them negatively even when it could be useful in the development of the area in question.

5.2: 5 Institutional and Political Implications

The violence did not only affect the social fabrics but has had effects on the institutional structures including the political fabrics as well. One of these is the establishment of new police stations in areas to boost security during the aftermath of the violence. A police post was set up in each sub-county in Manjiya immediately after the violence. In-fact many officers who had previously come to halt the crisis were deployed and remained in the area.

The survivors shared strong feelings that the police presence is necessary and important in avoiding recurrence of any violent situation besides curbing other crimes in the community. This remains highly debatable because many locals see the police force in their area as collaborators with criminals, and an example of purported hiring out of guns for robbery and burglary were cited. The police deny these allegations and say that the coverage area remains too big and generally inaccessible to adequately provide security for all. It was for example said that reporting of cases generally has been eased since the violence as the services have been brought nearer, thus reducing on the time and distance for the aggrieved to report.

‘The allegations of police dirty hands are believed to be promoted by those who hate law and order thus the misrepresentation of the police presence and image of the force in the area’ according to Mr Kunikina.

Ms Kibone however revealed that the relationship between the people in her area and the police is very fragile and not cordial. All in all, the general picture of most public service institutions and sectors in the country are perceived to be corrupt and the police are not an exception from this wider view (see World Bank Report by Cummins, 2005, IMF report on Uganda, 2005). Despite the harsh working conditions, many police officers serving in the area are reluctant to be transferred, and when I witnessed a case of those who have stayed longer in the area openly disrespectful to their chain of command, unresolved questions have since remained on my mind about police deployment in the aftermath of the violence as the only conflict management strategy. While it was necessary and useful to have the police stationed, it was vital to have them equipped and facilitated them to coordinate efforts to sustainable peacebuilding rather than mere keeping security. Different forms of violence are therefore real despite the presence of security personnel in the area.

Mr. Katenya reported that the security organs in the district no longer take anything for granted and there is a committee that meets regularly which deals with security reports and situation in the district and is chaired by the Resident District Commissioner (RDC). The members of the committee include heads of the judiciary, police, prisons, and other security/political organizations in the district. Because of this, he says security has improved and arrests by security organs had remarkably improved/increased. At another point though, he confessed that Mbale district has remained the highest ranking in homicide related cases in the country despite all these

attempts to crack down on violence and insurgency according to national records. An interesting reality of cultural promotion of masculinity violence among the Bagisu.

Socio-economic and political destructions are evident. Some villages have been re-demarcated and new political boundaries drawn to separate survivors of the violence from the purported perpetrators during the aftermath of the violence. An elder in Bumushiso village, Manjiya County boasted that he had acquired the position of an elder after the violence when villages were re-demarcated. He claimed he would have not been able to get it even when he thought he merited had the villages remained intact due to historical grudges in the area.

Since clans do not necessarily live in close vicinity among the Bugisu, it was difficult in some of the villages that had had political boundaries created. This realignment of political power where some have prospered created new power relations in the community. In fact clan leaders power for example has been reconfigured through the political outcomes of the violence leaving the community in some confusion; should they respect clan boundaries or new political boundaries? What about protecting survivors from their perpetrators? In light of the fact that new alliances were formed, it has so happened for example that some homesteads have found themselves in a new political entity after the re-demarcations yet their alliances after the antagonism belong to the other side of the boundary. Another fact is that the violence did not always respect clan relations despite the traditions and taboos related to respecting and protecting relatives, aimed at avoiding inter-clan bloodshed moving the debate from simple scarcity and masculinity to an adulterated and vicious power relations.

Some people like the elder cited above however said that they generally feel better in the new councils as those believed to have been in a minority in their former councils have now got positions of power in the new councils which has seen a rise in social status and to such a category of people, the violence was a blessing in disguise. They can now ably contribute to decision making in their communities and feel more valued than when they were deemed a minority, unimportant and discriminated against in their former local councils. An elder who preferred not be identified said:

‘we can also speak now. The name of our village has gone up to Kampala and we can have projects we want when the sub-county returns the 30% of the tax. We never benefited from this percentage before because it was helping the... (the other clan) who were manning the council like their household. No one can change the name now because it was even on the voter’s register. Kampala knows that we also exist now’.

The idea of the creation of new boundaries was aimed at avoiding further antagonisms and allowed the previously disadvantaged to contribute to decision making at village level. But this has as well isolated, alienated, disunited and created further boundaries for some people in the area. What I fear is that such divisions may be a basis to fuel further conflicts. This may help those seeking for more power and control at the cost of development and peace in the area. There is hence the question of clan leadership and political leadership being confused here. This presents a serious problem of alliances and which laws prevails, civil or customary traditions becomes a challenge. What is apparent though is that the violent conflict has had impact on the political scene and changing power relations in the area.

This is reflected in the emergence of new leaders in some areas after the violence besides new demarcations. Mr. Kamali reported that when some chiefs were imprisoned after the violence for alleged involvement in fuelling the violence, his

parish got another chief who is more pro-peace initiatives. He said for example that an LC executive of Bushika sub-county was not convicted though he was said to have lost the next election due to his alleged role in fuelling the violence. It was hard to verify these claims fully, but there were suggestive arguments that the violence played a big role during the campaigns which shows that there are those who are pro peace in that particular area; presenting a good sign and hope for conflict management through violence prevention and peace building in the future.

5.2: 6 Gendered Consequences

Available evidence suggests that men, women and children suffered though differently during and after the violence. It was said that overwhelmingly, it was the men who actually planned and executed the people during the violence for various reasons including resources, power, liberation, to envy, thus male positioning in patriarchal gender systems among others underwrites all this. Cockburn (2001) brings out an important gender dimension in times of crises without necessarily under rating male suffering in times of violence. She asserted that men usually flee to towns during and after violence as was the case in Mbale, leaving women to take care of dependents. Despite this, for the case of Mbale, it is elderly men who were mainly killed during the violence and are thus the prime victims of the violence.

Women in the affected areas have since the violence had an added burden to carry relative to their male counter parts. Though, men in Bagisu are the socially accepted household heads due to cultural structures that place men and boys above women and girls, my experience is that these roles are changing drastically mainly due to the socio economic conditions that have put most men in difficult positions to adjust and cope with. All the same, men's socio-political positions and status have remained

elevated relative to the women who are the major breadwinners of most families irrespective of their social situations. Men still dominate the political domain but are no longer the major breadwinners. Instead, it is women who are increasingly responsible for family welfare and survival. In Bugisu, men own resources of production like land and women did not have say over land proceeds. Today, land is scarce and inadequate, and women have found other means of survival and livelihood such as petty trade. The manhood status culturally hinder men of the area to engage in activities deemed less prestigious as it reduces their status.

Most men in the area were unemployed and were generally idle during the time of fieldwork. As early as 9.00 am, the local bars were full of men and I noted that women joined late in the day but still were less than men in the drinking places. In two separate focus groups held at Bushika Sub-county headquarters; with women who witnessed the violence from the sub-counties of Bududa, Bushika and Bulucheke, and a cross section of men from different social backgrounds, alcoholism emerged as both a cause and an effect of the violence in the community. They said that alcohol played a role in the violence; as perpetrators needed to drink to boast of their desire to kill.

Men of Bukore village in a focus group told me that they were drinking because they had nothing else to do because jobs were scarce. When I asked them if they could consider helping to load and off load goods from vehicles/trucks in the neighbouring market place to earn some money, they burst out laughing and shaking their heads in total disbelief. My personal experience is that men in the region generally disregard some jobs that are not meant for real men (bassani; the circumcised). Odd jobs are for 'basinde' (the uncircumcised and the destitute), who are at the same level as women.

The Bagisu condone male will and action because they are the real men and capable of making sound and independent judgment. This contributes to idleness, drunkenness, gossip and interpersonal violence among men in the villages because every man is above everyone else. The male ego has been dealt a blow so that the individualistic and autonomous male who was supposed to provide for the family is now reliant on the woman, and this further unravels the cultural bestowment of an autonomous self that the male enjoyed upon initiation in the past. This is the effect of the violence on the male and his social expectations in the post conflict situation.

These prevailing circumstances have left women therefore to be almost sole providers of families and they are increasingly getting involved in different activities to make ends meet. To women like Ms Kibone and others, it was after the violence that her life had a turning point. She has to do what was not deemed a woman's responsibility because of the prevailing circumstances despite the fact she was herself frail, weak and widowed. Many women are therefore coping with the social demands imposed onto them as women culturally, as well as cope with the new pressures of the after effects of the violence, like having to nurse the sick and having to stand in for the absent men in their families.

Ms Kibone explained that her son was allegedly involved in the violence and has been condemned to death, and she is now facing a very hard life as a single supporter of the household. She said:

‘My daughter, I do not know what to tell you. Whatever happened has happened and God is still taking care of me. One day, they (pointing to the grave yard of dead relatives) will call me and I will be happy to join them. Look at me, what do I have? Is there anything I can do? Life goes on like that for people like me nowadays...We greet each other like that because there is nothing else we can. I know they laugh at me inside because my son will die from the wilderness

(*musuru*/prison). Nobody will ever see his grave but I am always praying that God shows them (those who implicated her son) the meaning of the world (life). Tomorrow, their children will also be falsely accused and they will then understand what I go through and how it feels inside here (points to her chest). They are also parents like me. Nobody liked my child from childhood and when the old man died, this was an opportunity to keep him away so that he gets nothing (inheritance of land). My child (referring to the researcher), you don't understand anything in this world. If my son was among the killers, God knows but why him alone when the ring leaders are free. Because they have protection and my child had no one to protect him instead they gave in his name very fast. Ms Kibone (a victim of the violence) died in Bududa and my son never threw a single stone to kill her. He was just like anybody else following the group (mob) but bad blood is bad blood; it is seen first even among many people. Why do you think he was the only one they were able to see in a multitude (masses) of people? Who else do you think they would have seen? That was a golden opportunity to implement their long planned motives (mission). Ask ... (names a person to verify her claims that her son was a victim of family hatred) he can tell you the truth, he knows what was (is) happening in our family (*mungomuno*). What they used to talk about him (son) cannot be said now... knows everything and no one can say I am not telling the truth. Bad blood is bad blood... How would I go there in this condition? There is no money and it is very far. I must now concentrate on these ones (children) because nobody will look after them in this difficult condition. I do not think I will ever see him again... The big one is my last born. The others are my grandchildren. Those three there belong to the inmate (prisoner)... She is not here (wife to prisoner). Which woman of these days (this generation) can wait for a husband in prison. She stayed for sometime and before they could even take them to Luzira [after being condemned; it took over four years to condemn them], she was already married and has other children there now. So these are now mine. I will take care of them till I die... Yes, Red Cross people bring us greetings from there and they say he is still alive... They (witches) now know nobody will touch them and if one dares, they are taken to court and will end up in prison. They can now do anything to anyone (sorcerers can now bewitch with impunity) and they are secure against an attack. Didn't you see the police station on your way here. That is there to protect them and its their police station' (*interview, 21st January 2004*).

Ms Kibone's story is not very different from that of other women who either lost their loved ones as victims or those whose close relations and main breadwinners were found guilty by the courts of law and are now serving their sentences in Luzira; a suburb of Kampala or have sought refuge in the neighbouring Kenya as a way of escaping the hand of the law. Ms Kibone questions why other perpetrators were left in impunity especially the affluent local leaders and elders while young men like her son

were imprisoned? This highlights the big question of how people were viewing the double standards that may exist in the law and justice system, and the feelings towards the police after the violence. The people seem to think that these bodies were partial and not just. Another issue that comes out of this is the traditional responsibility of women in the social setting, where it was actually Ms Kibone who has to take care of the children: an important gender dimension in this area.

In this part of Uganda, the responsibility of nursing the orphans and the sick rests almost entirely on the women in the extended family networks. With the current prevalent deaths of many young adults mainly dying due to HIV/AIDS (*alleged witchcraft*), the elderly women have in fact had an added burden on their shoulders. And with the violence, these women must now combine other social responsibilities such as taking care of the sick, with taking care of orphans and abandoned children, despite the prevailing socio-economic conditions, and where the social services sector is weak and support for such people either from government or civil society is almost unheard of. Women are the marginalized of the marginalized in this area, and are most affected by social problems yet they own no means of livelihood as this is a preserve for men.

The women are responsible in searching for means of healing for their loved ones who were traumatized by the violence, and nurse those who have mental problems, almost single handedly. A visit to key hospitals and health centers showed me that more than 90% or more of the attendants are women. Men may help carry the sick to health units and the common practice is that many will only return when the sick is pronounced dead, in order to take the corpse back home. Those who were tortured but

survived were hospitalised and subsequently nursed by women in their families after the violence.

Despite this, women continue to remain almost excluded and are almost invisible in the political domain: whether cultural or modern in this area. Women's views and opinions are thus not adequately represented or heard at policy level since the political domain has remained almost exclusively that of men. The men continue to determine what is important, and advance it irrespective of its urgency or necessity to community welfare and development. My involvement with state institutions during the research showed that women were almost absent in these sectors. This affected my intention to have both men and women heard as equal partners. The voices of women were not present in many of the targeted institutions. This poses a serious problem of women models as well as women's views representation at institutional level in the area.

In all the police posts in the areas that were affected by the violence for example, there was no woman except at the central police station in Mbale, and even here, women were not in positions of leadership except one who doubled as a post commander in one of the town posts, and a social policing commander at the central police station. The fact that women have to respond to the prevailing circumstances, especially to take care of the families, is a real challenge that must not be under looked by those in leadership. Important to mention is that my experience in this area shows that traditionally, women do not inherit anything, and household headship and property ownership rests with men of the family and later clan if there is no male heir, yet women have to take full care of family welfare with or without support from the

supposed household leaders, and women who have achieved economic empowerment have had to start from scratch (Heald, 1998). Women can however be custodians of property for their male offspring; a son(s) takes over or share his/their mother's allocated piece of land culturally.

I learnt from focus groups held with women that some young girls in Manjiya have had to give up school in a bid to either marry or search for employment in order to help their mothers with the increasing family responsibility. Many of those who married had taken over some of the abandoned children from their mothers. And those who sought employment were sending some money back home for family welfare. This is a trend that retards the struggle to better women's lives. It is sad that the future women are caught up in a situation where they are being forced to give up education to rescue their families and mothers in particular. Education would be a future asset for their empowerment through knowledge. This is likely to create a vicious cycle of disempowerment for women, and development can never be fully achieved until such trends are fully addressed. Unfortunately, this is yet to be done in the area.

'Things changed so fast and now life is very hard (bad)...I must do everything for the children and we have no land. We used to reap a lot from the forest area. We had sold all our land and bought some in the forest only to be chased away like rats...my children are not going to school because they do not have uniform and if they go, they have nothing to eat when they return...I must struggle to get some evening food for them because the night can be very long on an empty stomach...(name daughter) went to Kenya and sent us some assistance but it is not enough. She could not stand the suffering in the home and promised to work hard wherever she is now,' narrated Ms Kharono (*Interview, 14th January 2004*).

Like the young women, many children affected by the violence like those under Ms Kharono and Ms Kibone's custody are likely to lose out in education and empowerment because they have been robbed of their carers at such a tender age. All

the children under Ms Kibone's custody were of school going age but were not attending school even though a school was located in the vicinity. The children were instead helping their grandmother make ends meet by doing odd jobs around the village, and assisting her with sales on market days. With the prevailing economic situations, such children could not afford the requirements of school despite the universal primary education initiatives countrywide. If they were to attend school, they needed some basics like books and a uniform; Ms Kibone could not afford to provide these for the children. Women, the elderly and children have been caught between the violence and many are depending on handouts, and Kharono in particular has had her daughter leave school. Most girls in this area who go to look for work in Kenya, are said to be working on plantations and others as household maids. This trend poses a general threat for the continued marginalisation and disempowerment of women, and future generation's human development in the area and the country at large.

The violence in Manjiya was both organised and took some span of time till it was stopped. Cases of sexual violence against women were reported in this area despite the social stigma and normality associated with this in situations of violence. The fear to have contracted HIV/AIDS was expressed by one woman who suffered this directly. The threat of rape forced women to flee and rumours suggest that some women were indeed raped, but this remains a highly closed secret and not regarded as an important subject to discuss in the area. I informally talked to six women survivors whose husbands were targeted during the time. They all said they took refuge in their ancestral homes because they feared what would happen to them if the perpetrators got hold of them. One of the main fears was rape and or physical torture.

In my discussion with one of the cultural leaders of the district, he said that it was a common practice for women to be part of the loot whenever the Bagisu were involved in acts of aggression traditionally, and these women would eventually be married by their captors. He talked of abductions that take place during the final circumcision rituals (*innemba* festival) when the new men are being cleansed which is not culturally regarded as rape, since the girls who stay behind after dark expected that, and the captors would report the abduction soon after to arrange the formal marriage with the girl's family. According to him, these abductions are still practiced in more traditional (remote) parts of the district like the ones studied. The women's fears of rape during the violence were thus not baseless.

Though the women who are thought to have suffered rape did not talk about it as a consequence of the violence, their ordeal cannot be underestimated. None of the men mentioned sexual violence as a consequence of the violence except one. They however talked about the incidence of a woman who helped get one victim during the course of the violence. Mr Kotakyi who witnessed the violence and is said to have been involved at one stage but was later restrained by his father said that at the beginning of the violence, murders took place at night in isolated incidences and concealed from the public eye. He said he had heard that women found in the home of the victim at that stage were sexually abused. He told me that he had heard that one couple was forced to be involved in a last sexual ritual during the torture and were both killed thereafter. While the exploitation of women sexuality show the gender dimension of the consequences of the violence, male victims also faced sexual abuse as narrated by Kotakyi. The fact that sexual abuse was not regarded as an important

implication of the Mbale violence by most voices raise serious social and gender questions about sexuality and violence in this particular area.

Another gender twist in the area was male psychological problems and violence. There were reports of increased numbers of suicide, and mental problems among young men in the post conflict situation especially in Manjiya area. This however requires an independent research and further examination. All the young men who were reported to have committed suicide since the violence in the area were not closely related to the antagonistic parties in the violence, and it was rather difficult for me to link the said increase in suicidal tendencies to the violence. Mr Kaato and Mr Kamali were however very convinced that the intensity of suicide phenomenon had increased in the area after the violence.

5.3: 1 Conclusion

Ten years after the violence, the conditions for healing and positive peace have not been created in the area. There is no doubt many lessons have been learned. Whether these lessons are taken seriously, especially by those who have the power to initiate and effect change and social justice still remains a question. The socio-economic and political networks and relations were greatly affected to the extent that normal relations disrupted by the violence, have not been fully restored. The violence has planted a seed of hatred that has remained visible and evident in the day to day practices in the area. Many people acknowledged that they were living in fear of either attack or revenge, and many said they were aware others hated them. This is in line with Heald's analysis that fear could have played an important role in the 1995/96 violence in Mbale (Heald, 1998). Such fears are due to unfulfilled dreams of those faced with different forms of scarcity who target those they felt were responsible for

such scarcities. And the more fortunate fear those who are more deprived who are envious and prone to crimes like theft that target their properties. Besides, the psychological consequences have never been addressed since then, let alone senseless loss of human life that can never be replaced. There is thus need for shared sense of responsibility by all stakeholders to carefully manage conflicts as early as possible. Otherwise, violence as seen from the Mbale experience creates insecurity and retards development efforts both in the short-run and long-run; such violence if not managed and effects addressed create a vicious cycle of violence and exacerbate conditions of scarcity.

Chapter Six: Managing the Conflict in Mbale Situation

"Many time-proven methods of conflict resolution originated on African soil: The conflict resolution expertise that has developed in Africa incorporates insights and skills acquired during the years of traditional leadership, colonial rule, and new independence. Concentrate on the local capacity for peace is the message which sounds both loud and clear."
(Tongerren, executive director, European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 1999)

6.1:1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how the Bagisu traditionally resolved conflicts peacefully through the Bukkulo mediation structure. I use this to analyse and question why the intra community conflict of 1995/96 was not resolved by these traditional structures but instead turned violent, and ponder why the existing structures (traditional and modern) were not capable of managing the Mbale conflict either. I have drawn this from Tongeren's (1999) assertion that African conflicts can be best resolved using indigenous knowledge through lived experiences than looking elsewhere for solutions. This is because every conflict is unique requiring situational analysis in its conflict management. I then deal with the management strategies employed during the conflict. Different accounts are presented to depict how this conflict was managed and the analysis made is drawn from these accounts.

When analysing the issue of internal conflicts, Zartman posits that internal conflicts are caused by the inability or unwillingness of responsible government departments to deal with conflicts to the satisfaction of the aggrieved parties (Zartman, 1995). This chapter looks at the interplay of the 'inability' of both government institutional structures like the police and judiciary, and community structures, to contain the violence. Thus, though this study recognises the existence of conflicts in a society as a

healthy and normal social phenomenon (Bickmore; Menkel-Meadow, 2003; Galtung, Jacobsen and Brand-Jacobsen, 2002; Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Gurr, 1996; Zartman [quotes Coser et al 1956 and Bernard et al 1957] In Zartman and Rasmussen (ed), 1997), the chapter emphasises that conflicts should be continuously managed and never be allowed to turn violent.

I have thus presented conflict resolution strategies during the violence and after; for example what was done in managing the conflict situation and how this is thought could have been improved to deter conflicts turning violent. I have also made recommendations to ensure that conflicts are prevented from recurring in the future, through sustainable peace initiatives and structures for sustainable development. This chapter then leads directly to the sustainable peace question raised in chapter seven.

6.1:2 Managing Conflict

Though the manifestations of the violence were not uniform in the whole areas covered by this research, there is a general agreement on how the violent conflict was managed in the whole area. What seems to differ to some degree is why different parties took different positions in the whole process. There is then the much larger question: how to evolve conflict management structures to ensure sustainable peace development in the post conflict situation?

Mr Kaato who witnessed the conflict says that community leaders in Bufumbo and Bukonde tried to address the problem immediately after the violence had erupted by summoning a general meeting. Before the meeting could commence, the security organs, particularly the police, had got the information and responded fast to the situation. While some lives were lost in the struggle, major casualties were averted, so

the police did act in a timely way. The proximity of these sub-counties [Bufumbo and Bukonde] to the government organs was important according to Mr Kaato. The suspected witches were taken away by the security and kept in custody till the situation calmed down in the villages. Local leadership thus relied on appealing to reason of the entire community through meetings and further extracted the alleged witches for safe custody. This seems to have thwarted violence since guilt was harder to prove in the state procedure thereby leading to their release.

The situation in Manjiya County on the other hand was different. Some leaders (meant to be custodians of the law) were involved in planning the violence. It is alleged that the people in this area had learnt from the Bungokho experiences that the police would not help them punish the witches, and were thus determined to punish alleged witches outside of the legal system of justice. In both cases though, there were no efforts by any party to manage the conflict before violence erupted. The distance of Manjiya to the police and other security units, besides the remoteness of the area, made it hard for the police to intervene in time. 'Even after getting the reports, it was difficult to go to the area immediately, because arms were involved and the area was not easily accessible' (Mr Kuloba a district leader from Manjiya). This would also render the police who are foreign to the area vulnerable to untold danger. He said that the police seem to have feared casualties, and had to request for support from the military before they ventured in Manjiya. The survivors generally felt nobody cared except those who got police protection in Mbale. Infact local leadership did not act uniformly in other parts of the district. Enforcement of law and order was reactionary and efforts to resolve the conflict even after eruption of violence were ineffective. While local leaders were overwhelmed by mob action and some remained indifferent,

law enforcement structures were disabled by the absence of social and physical infrastructure required to maintain law and order.

By the time the police arrived in Manjiya, the violence had escalated and had covered the parishes of Bumushiso, Bunabutiti, Bumakusi, Bumasata, Ulukusi, Bumayoka, Bushiyi and Bumalukani, found in Bushika and the then Bulucheke Sub counties. It thus took security operatives time to curb the violence in mountainous Manjiya, and 'in spite of calls for a halt during a public rally addressed by the RDC Mbale, Mr Nyalulu on January 20 (1996), that very night saw the highest numbers of deaths' (Musoke Mulinde and Mulime, 1996). Mr Kamali reported that while the RDC was addressing the people, some in the meeting openly declared they would continue to kill, which left the security helpless. And those in the said meeting could hear circumcision songs on different mountain ridges, and were aware that victims were being tortured to death. The victims at that time were treated like circumcision candidates being led to circumcision. Violent masculinity was clearly manifested in the mode of the torture, and the choice of victims shows that violence was directly at better off men in the community; 'the witches' by the socio-economically deprived men 'the bewitched'. However, the security operatives were in the valleys, and could do nothing to rescue those being killed kilometres away.

Mr. Kunikina explained that after weeks of combing the area, and with the presence of the army in large numbers, they were able to stop the violence, and that it was only then that the police could embark on arresting some suspects. He said that by that time though, most suspects had crossed over to neighbouring Kenya, and others to Central

Uganda where they have been based since then. What is surprising is that the hand of the law is so restricted to the immediate vicinity.

There are no telephone networks or roads in mountainous Manjiya, and some parts of Bungokho where the study was conducted. Hence no means of transport are available to the police force to easily transfer suspects to other stations or courts of law. Response to crisis or emergency as was the case during the violence is sometimes impossible. At Mbale Central police, there was only one car, available for an emergency, and an officer told me that sometimes the car could be available but without fuel. Thus, the police in this area remain vulnerable to many challenges. The conditions under which they operate render them prone to temptations, and inefficient in fulfilling their duties. They are highly under staffed, poorly housed, poorly remunerated and above all ill equipped to respond to crisis of any form.

It was also reported by survivors that some suspects who were arrested were released on bail and were never reprimanded. Others are said to have received lesser sentences for the lesser crime of illegal trespass, due to the technicalities of the law. This left some people puzzled and frustrated with the justice system. A widow who preferred anonymity, told me that she felt heart broken when those who killed her husband were released a few days after. She has felt unsafe in the area since, and thinks the perpetrators know that she saw them, and she knows them well enough. She was however not strong enough to testify against them since she was not informed about the schedules in court. She also feared to be against so many, and felt without protection as her male family members had perished. If she was assured of state protection, she says she would have testified in the court in Mbale, even if it meant

walking there. This shows that victims felt that the legal system does not guarantee peaceful co-existence since it appears to treat culprits leniently. Pointing to the obscure nature of the justice system that may work towards perpetuating the undercurrents of conflict rather than resolve conflict. In this case, this implies that those harbouring fear, suspicion and dissatisfaction may at a later date revive the violence thereby failing to manage conflict for peace and sustainable development.

There were no reports of follow-up efforts put in place either by the civil society or government to help both survivors and suspected perpetrators to be reintegrated in the community. At the time of the research, suspected perpetrators who are believed to have run away at the time were said to sneak back in the villages, and this greatly worried survivors. Hence, once the violence had stopped, no efforts were put in place to ensure either prevention of the vicious cycle of violence, or to enable peacebuilding. It was said that the police had informed the people that the files of the violence related offences would be open for ten years and after that, they would be closed. The suspected perpetrators who are in hiding are aware of this, and it is feared and speculated that the perpetrators would return after the stipulated time. The fact that such suspected perpetrators have showed no signs of remorse for their actions is an indication of impunity of some form, and a danger to reconciliation and sustainable peace development. Both formal and informal structures do not seem to have made any efforts to institute conflict management. Indeed informal mechanisms may even have deteriorated so that they are no longer in position to ensure peace and co-existence. Moreover, other support agencies do not seem to have had adequate exposure to the conflict and violence in order to interject in the absence of the state and traditional structures of peace and development.

The visible response in the area reflects that violence management was preferred to conflict management. Thus, efforts were geared towards stopping the violence, without due regard to post conflict restitution, reconstruction, possible reconciliation and peace. Conflict management would involve peacebuilding during the post conflict situation so that the conflicts are not allowed to turn sour, and also focus on sustainable peace and development (Galtung, 1996, 2002; Boutros-Ghali, 1995B). The three police posts in Manjiya that were established in response to the violence reflect a militaristic approach to conflict management. Even then, they are inadequately equipped and extremely understaffed. There were also strong allegations that a police post could not survive in Bungokho due to the criminal nature of the people in the areas that suffered the violence.

Commenting on the police post in Manjiya, Mr Kundu was quick to say:

‘The best way to reduce conflicts in our area here is, first of all parents and elders should not involve their children in their conflicts. We should not pass on hatred from one generation to another. And secondly, we in ... (parish name) should collectively solve our conflicts without involving the police because the police are too corrupt to solve conflicts of some of us who are poor. Instead, it is worsening through delay and release of criminals on bail after eating (the police) a bribe. These wrong doers come back to antagonise the peace in the community. We must stop selling ourselves to these policemen because they will make us have more conflicts so that they continue eating the bribe’ he lamented, (*Interview, 5th March 2004*).

Most people did not differentiate between a police bond and a bribe, and they do not even claim for the bond or security after the case has been disposed off. The police do not also provide relevant information to those on bond.

There is the feeling that conflicts seem to be transferred from generation to generation making the situation worse. And there is a call for the resolution of conflicts and for

breaking the inter-generational transmission of conflicts in the area. The above narration also brings out feelings of mistrust between the people and government structures. The achieving of trust between the people, and the law enforcing agents, remains a serious issue in this area.

On the other hand, Mr Kamali explained that when some survivors realised that the courts could give them justice, they plucked up courage to report the actual grievances that led to the violence. He gave an example of a family in Bufuma, Bulucheke sub-county where someone killed his own brother over land wrangles. Though the suspected perpetrator was not convicted due to insufficient evidence and lack of witnesses, the children of the deceased have taken up the land case in the courts of law. Therefore, while views and opinions on some issues have not shifted, there are glimpses of hope that at least some people are not resorting to violence to resolve crisis.

Mr Kamali a survivor and leader thinks that if the local leaders had reported what was likely to happen to higher authorities before the widespread violence, the number of casualties registered at the time would have been more limited. He was particularly bitter and insisted that some leaders had got involved and others had then disappeared from the area to safeguard themselves until the situation was calm. He gave an example of an LC III Chairman who ran away and stayed in Kampala when violence erupted despite the fact that that chairman was even a public servant who was expected on duty in the area then.

‘I wish he had informed the police of the violence before he escaped, because he must have passed via Mbale (on the way to Kampala) or even Mayenze (a police post on the way from Manjiya to Mbale) if he had decided to go via Tororo’ (*interview, 1st April 2004*).

When I talked informally to the chairman in question, he indicated that while he was aware of what was happening, he had urgent matters to handle in Kampala, and that he did not anticipate at the time of his departure that the violence would get out of proportion. He also stated that those he had delegated to run his office worked hard, and helped end the violence immediately.

Mr Kamali went ahead to explain that even after taking personal initiative to report to the police in Mbale, he was asked to inform other authorities due to poor communication between related departments. This causes grave delays in responding to the crisis. He confessed that he had to wait till he was sure deployment formalities had been finalised before he could return to his area. It was thus not enough for Mr Kamali to report to the authorities but he had to get involved in other related bureaucracies thereafter which he said discourages many people in this area from taking initiatives to report crime related incidences, and may partly contribute to the failure for the people to report the violence, 'I knew people were denying the violence, but I had to wait and convince them (authorities) that things were so serious. If I had not waited, they would have turned their attention to something else as soon as I had left. This is how things are. You have to personally follow up everything before something can be done for you, otherwise nothing happens' lamented Mr Kamali.

Personal interactions with the police revealed that the police regard the people in the area as uncooperative and hostile, and the community view the police as corrupt and serving the interests of the well to do amongst them. In one of the villages studied, the police rented the premises of a survivor. Though it is a common practice that

government hires premises for the police in some places throughout the country, many people in this area cannot comprehend why a government body is renting the premises of the particular victim. This increased the feeling that the police takes sides and cannot act justly either towards those purported to have been behind the violence or survivors who are manipulating the situation to their personal advantage. As a state structure mandated to maintain peace and order, the police comes under scrutiny here. Do they possess the capability to investigate and determine the course of events even when faced with uncooperative communities? Remember communities have already been analysed to have very little understanding of the state procedure and therefore are themselves skeptical of their diligence, intentions and impartiality. As a state organ, the police may thus be unreliable to maintain peace sustainability.

Mr Kamoti a prisons officer said:

‘The best way at the time was to use force to solve the problems since the people had tried and failed to solve the problem through elders. The people had to safeguard their future and doing away with witches was resolving the conflict forever since the witches have more advantages than disadvantages. The police had failed to help the people when witches were taken to the police (in Bungokho), they were released and went back to cause harm...The police was also right to use force to stop more violence after some people had learnt some lessons (that witchcraft was evil). ... We do not have strong laws condemning witchcraft, and what there is has many limitations. The courts say witchcraft is difficult to handle, so there is no point in taking witches there. They just have to be killed...But I understand some were not witches. I was told this later but it was not easy to know who exactly was and who wasn’t; so prevention is better than cure’ (*Interview, 8th January 2004*).

The law of witchcraft (*commencement: 28 March, 1957*) as passed by the colonial government aimed at the prevention and apprehension of witchcraft, and give provision for the punishment of persons practising witchcraft. This law states offences and penalties in relation to witchcraft, imputation of witchcraft, possession of articles used in witchcraft, evidence of reputation, and confiscation and destruction of

witchcraft implements. Implicit in the colonial law is that witchcraft does exist. At independence, the independent state inherited this law and continued to work with it. This law thus continued to remain on the legal statute of the country. However, the situation remains that the law of evidence has to be brought to bear in deciding whether acts of witchcraft were engaged in or not. Whether witchcraft exists or does not is not the quest of this thesis. What is relevant here is how witchcraft related violence affected conflict management in the Mbale situation.

Mr Kamoti talked about the laws in place to handle witchcraft related offences. The witchcraft act is hard to enforce without community sensitisation, and changes in other laws for compatibility. The Act for example seems to contradict other laws including the law of evidence (Police training manual, 1996). While witchcraft is a criminal offence, it is hard to prove that the suspect was practicing witchcraft. Where purported charms are produced as evidence, it is hard to show a direct relationship between the spell of charms and the alleged harm caused. Generally, the witchcraft act contradicts the law of evidence. Sensitisation and compatibility of laws is therefore necessary if such laws are to be reinforced. Besides, the complications and legality posed by the witchcraft laws promote community witchcraft motivated violence to those suspected to have committed the offence.

Mr Kamoti also brings out an important issue relating to structural violence in this society. His belief in the power of witchcraft, and the need to use force to address witchcraft related problems in the community, shows the extent to which violence is engraved in the social structures. The patriarchal tendencies of resolving conflicts violently are brought out vividly in his words. While it may be necessary to stop

killings by the use of the military, relying on the military when the situation has calmed down does not promote peace sustainability. Instead it suffocates useful initiatives to peacebuilding and its sustainability (Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, 1999). And a policy of suppressing conflicts by militarisation, without adequately addressing the sources can never bring about lasting peace as seen in chapter seven.

Besides the problem of the laws on witchcraft, there was also the problem of a general fear to report on the violence to the authorities for fear of vendettas. Mr Kotakyi said: 'It was very difficult (to report) because whosoever risked this could be killed by the named person after the prison sentence had expired, or his relatives would revenge harm. So people feared to help in arrests of perpetrators, yet they knew who they were...It was only the military that could manage these people' (*Interview, 4th April 2004*).

The fear of revenge violence was expressed by many people in the area including those in the judicial sector. It was said that people in this area cannot forget easily the bloodshed of their kin and kith and it is the responsibility of clan members to avenge this. The fact that clan boundaries were not respected during the 1995/96 violence makes this whole scenario more complicated. There were allegations in Manjiya of revenge related violence towards some youths believed to have been murdered few years after the violence but these could not be verified since the police had not gotten any suspects or convictions in regard to these cases.

Another question is that of perceived delay in justice in this area. While the violent related crimes were committed about mid 1995, and before March 1996, the trials in court did not begin until 1998. By this time, some people are thought to have lost interest, or may have been intimidated to the level that they did not testify against those thought to be *strong* in the community (*see*; Nabudere, 2002). Some people confessed to me that they did not actually know when the trials were to take place.

Protracted legalities in the law, and the unfamiliarity with legal workings, leaves survivors feeling both distanced and abandoned. Those who resort to taking the law into their hands, justify this by pointing out to the tardiness of the legal system in meeting swift justice for all.

How the way the Bungokho situation was handled, generally influenced how the Manjiya crisis was manifested due to the perceived attitude that the modern justice system could not provide adequate justice to the aggrieved parties. Mr Kusolo and others thought the perpetrators did not trust the justice system that is why they took the law in their hands, a view shared by Mulinde and Mulime (1996). Many scholars have argued that conflict management strategies need to integrate traditional and modern systems (Sikoska and Solomon, 2002; Ngwane, 1996; Lund, 1999). I now turn to an analysis of conflict management by the Bagisu, and seek to see whether the tradition of mediatory structures can be harnessed, for peacebuilding, and sustainable peace and development.

6.2 Conflict Management among the Bagisu

6.2:1 Violence as a form of social conflict management

Though conflicts are a normal way of social relations among people (Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Galtung, 1996; Galtung, 2002), violence is intrinsically responsible for perpetuating misery and underdevelopment in parts of Africa.

It was told by Mr Kusolo a senior civil servant in the district (*interview; 19th January 2004*) that historically, violence over land boundaries for example were last manifested in Bugisu during the pre colonial period between different groups (bigger social clusters categorised by lineage) who did not have immediate blood lineage.

Others were with people belonging to tribes who shared common borders with the Bagisu. The last of this conflict according to one Mr Gidongo (an elder in the area) was said to have taken place in late 19th Century. An example of these internal violent conflicts included the Bashika vs Baduda, Baduda vs Basukuya, and Bukigai vs Bulutseshe over land boundaries. The issue of lineage and kinship was clearly important in explaining alliances, and why particular groups had to go to war with one group and not the other. I was told that the Bashika (from Bushika) and Balutseshe (hailing from Bulucheke) people supported each other during such conflicts because they were regarded as cousins. Thus, the importance of kinship and clan alliances is crucial in conflict escalation among the Bagisu people. Mr Gidongo further explained that the historical conflict between the Bagisu from Bungokho and the Bagwere (from neighbouring Pallisa district) was a contestation over land boundaries between the two peoples who belong to two different tribes.

What makes the 1995/96 violent conflict unique is because kinsmen turned against each other, and killed without remorse for their actions. This flouted early taboo against the murder of kinsmen/women for it is regarded *very bad* for the Bagisu to pour the blood of a kin and kith. Such an act is said to result in the eventual suffering or even the destruction of the whole clan (see Heald 1998, 1999). This may partly explains why the revenge tendencies are thought not to be widespread after the violence, due to direct blood linkages between the perpetrators and victims of the violence.

Mr Katenya a magistrate when explaining how different this particular violence was to other types of homicide cases the courts have dealt with in the area revealed that

only in the 1970s, did the President of Uganda give a decree to murder witches. He said that the president then claimed that the judicial system was not based on the African Justice System but on the colonial system that was weak, ignorant of African culture, and did not provide real justice to the people. He continued to say that that official sanctioning of witch hurting resulted into massacre of suspected witches through mob justice in different parts of the country. He said that in Bulambuli (formerly in north Mbale), there had been some cases of witch hurting resulting from that sanction.

He however did not hasten to say that the situation in Bulambuli then could not be compared to the killings that took place in Mbale in 1995/96 in both proportion and manifestation, yet both situations showed how suspected witches are punished in the wider context in this particular society. He revealed that five cases of witchcraft related murders were reported in the 1970 witchcraft hurt in Bulambuli. The decree in favour of witchcraft hurt, shows how witchcraft beliefs are strong in the socio-political arena, and death is seen to be socially accepted punishment for the suspected witches in the area (Heald, 1998) though the killings are said to be highly disguised and secretive (Heald, 1998) as opposed to the open mass killings of 1995/96. Mr Katenya says that the motive is never revealed to be witchcraft in the courts (see *ibid*) even when the society would suspect that.

Witchcraft related murders thus exist among the Bagisu people. Thus, the difference between such murders, and the Mbale violence is that they are rare and are individual cases, as opposed to the mass intra-communal killings. The socio-political emphasis here, an *African culture* and African form of justice legalised norms of murder. The

1995 Constitution of Uganda advances a right to life as a human right, revoking the cultural norm to murder witches despite the death sentence still enshrined in the Uganda law.

6.2:2 Traditional Structures in Conflict Management

Then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings...Then, the country was ours, in our name and right...All men were free and equal and this was the foundation of government. The council (of elders) was so completely democratic that all members of the tribe could participate in its deliberations. Chiefs and subjects, warrior and medicine man, all took part and endeavoured to influence its decisions; Mandela, 1984 as quoted by Ayittey, 1992.

Like most African societies referred to in the quotation above, grass-root participation was very important in decision making including conflict management and resolution in Bugisu. To manage and resolve inter personal and intra communal conflicts, the clan leadership and Bukkulo traditional structures in particular are important among the Bagisu. Bukkulo is a traditional joking relationship that could be useful in conflict prevention, mediation, reconciliation and peace making. This relationship is meant to hold different clans and kith together by use of dialogue through intermediaries. While every member of a specific Bakkulo(clan) qualifies to be a Mukkulo of the rest of the members of the Bakkulo of his her clan, Mr Gidudu explained that personal traits, gender and age usually determine which Mukkulo is well respected and can be entrusted with important messages to pass onto the other side in the relationship. Women are passive members in this relationship because clan leadership is a male preserve.

The word clan as used above is complex to define because among the Bamasaba, a clan originate from a linkage by male line of ancestry (Heald, 1998), and where

polygamy was involved, a sub-clan emerges bearing the names of the women involved. According to a member of the Bugisu cultural committee, members of a clan are netted together by a blood bond, do not inter marry and would have one leader who is responsible for the welfare and interrelations of all the clan members. These clan leaders are men who are chosen based on seniority in age, personal traits and lineage such as offspring of the eldest ancestor or senior wife. The leader is entrusted with keeping the clan homestead, and through consultation with clan members takes charge during important cultural ceremonies such as marriage, circumcision and funeral rites. In times of crisis within the clan, he is expected to summon a general meeting and address the issues in a clan meeting. Those found guilty of any offences are punished in the open and usually required to offer some sort of material compensation that is shared by the members (either a goat or cow depending on the gravity of the offence) which is also thought to appease the spirits (*basambwa*) (ibid) as well as a sign of showing remorse by apologising to the elders and the rest of the clan for the mischief committed. Since the Bagisu men are proud and autonomous, acts of remorse ness are negotiated and sincerely accepted since they require brevity on the part of the offender.

Traditionally, clan leaders are meant to enforce peace, unity and promote amicable resolution of conflict among its members. However, the involvement of some clan elders and leaders in planning the violence in Manjiya in particular opened the door for widespread violence, and made it difficult for the conflict to be peacefully managed and resolved. It is alleged by the police and some victims of the violence that the perpetrators were very confident that their local leaders were on their side and fully supporting their actions which made the situation more difficult to manage.

There was thus misuse of clan power where the male elders marginalized some groups to the detriment of others in their own entities.

The Bukkulo structure like the clan leadership was equally unable to help contain and manage the conflict before widespread violence erupted. I also learnt during the fieldwork that the origin of the Bukkulo relationship emerged from revengeful violence and counter violence between clans, which usually led to many deaths (Mr. Guloba, an elder and civic leader). This could take many years to resolve. Then through intermediaries, the two parties would wish to halt the antagonism after clan consultations. They would agree on a peace pact to be sustained for the future generations to come.

It has been earlier said that when a member of a particular clan is killed or murdered, it is the responsibility of the bereaved clan to avenge the death of their beloved one by counter killing anyone from the suspect perpetrator's clan; usually deemed to be of equal value to their kin. It was not clear how long this revengeful counters would last but Mr Guloba said that when elders got tired of the bloodshed, as inter-marriage made it difficult for many people in one clan to carry on the fending for oneself, peace would be sought. This would compel warring parties to seek for a lasting solution to the violence by initiating a Bukkulo relationship that ended the whole violence and counter violence. The new relationship would promote peace, friendship, respect and co-existence. The hatred and disharmony turned into a *joking* relationship that was strengthened by sharing and mutual respect.

Once this relationship had been established, the two clans would then not indulge in any act of physical violence with any member or members of the other clan. Verbal violence and abuse would be sanctioned and this would symbolically replace the physical violence as clearly illustrated by Heald, (1998, 1999). It was then the responsibility of every member to ensure that good relationships flourished. This is guided or moderated by unwritten rules and norms that regulate the relationships. Clan members take collective responsibility to ensure no one breaches the pact since the consequences of this could be directed to the clan as a whole. The Bakkulo are regarded as partial relatives, and are highly respected and occasionally feared due to detailed taboo related to breaching the pact.

Hatred and murder is thus permanently transformed into a lasting joking friendship and strong bonds equating to blood relations are forged. Two parties, like blood relations, can then not intermarry. It is a taboo thereafter to get in any form of conflict with a Mukkulo. Failure to abide with the principles guiding this relationship leads to indiscriminate bad omen, misfortunes, and is said to cause serious consequences such as unexplained deaths on the clan that gives offence, till special ceremonies of a reunion are conducted. The Bakkulo are meant to warn their counter parts of impending danger, and the aggrieved parties in any conflict situation usually seek mediation of the Mukkulo in the crisis. The Mukkulo then carries a message to the Bakkulo of the offending clan. The message though passed on casually and jokingly is taken seriously if it is one's Mukkulo bringing it. The Bakkulo did not act before or during the violence yet every Mugisu in has Bakkulo.

The Bakkulo work as intermediaries and jokingly give genuine advice or warnings to their counterparts during all situations of conflict and impending danger. The Bagisu people have therefore shared and influenced each other through this mechanism of conflict resolution, and by the nature of the operations of the Bakkulo networks. It was possible in the case of the 1995/96 situation, that information could have been mediated and those in danger could have taken necessary precautions (such as hiding or immigrating) till the situation calmed down, especially in Manjiya county where all evidence suggest that the violence was pre-planned. This is because the Bakkulo act as legally accepted cultural intermediaries between warring parties in the community, and carry messages to the Bakkulo without fear of intimidation, revenge or hatred.

Why the Bakkulo traditional structure failed to pre-warn their counterparts of the danger let alone mediate between the parties to resolve the conflict is rather difficult to comprehend. In Bungokho, the violence took many by surprise, in Manjiya County on the other hand, some people in the community knew of the plans and impending danger yet many victims were never warned at all and were caught unaware which makes one ponder why the Bakkulo did not play the intermediary, let alone the warning role in this area. Survivors who were warned in time managed to escape but many who perished were taken unaware or did not have ample time to escape if they were ever warned at all. It is thus highly debatable whether this traditional structure is still practical and relevant in conflict management in Bugisu.

A shared opinion by both survivors and perpetrators was that it was very difficult for the Bakkulo to get involved, because the violence involved people from the same clan but not outsiders, and the Bakkulo is thought to deal best when the warring parties are

from different clans. Mr Kimbo a survivor stated that while this is true, it was also possible that the Bakkulo feared for their personal safety, and that of their close relationship, since the issues were very contentious and involved many parties in the planning including clan leaders and influential politicians. He asserted, without giving further details that those suspected of having warned the victims were later themselves victimised during the violence, but confessed that he was personally warned by a community leader involved in the whole planning process of the violence, and that is how he managed to escape to safety.

When asked why the Bakkulo did not inform those concerned so as to help stop the violence before it erupted, Ms Kakayi a witness had this to say; 'How could they do anything when the clubs (guns or pangas) were sharp (*nga tsisonyi tsokyiile*)? Would you risk yourself to tell (warn) anyone if you had had the guns yourself?' She says people feared the consequences of guns and pangas employed during the violence, if they were to be discovered to have warned the victims.

Mr Kimanayi a survivor explained that the Bakkulo did not warn anyone because the perpetrators did not desire a peaceful settlement. 'If they (perpetrators) had wanted a peaceful settlement, they would have sent the Bakkulo to the suspected witches and asked them to stop the practice'. He added that since most victims were not actually witches as such but hated ones in the villages, the perpetrators could not send any warnings of witchcraft to them since they (perpetrators) well knew that they were only using witchcraft as an excuse to kill their targeted enemies.

'They just wanted to use witchcraft to get what they had been longing for so many years. When they heard of what had happened in Bufumbo, they planned

to use it in our area and they got what they wanted. Can you believe I am a witch? I have stayed in this area for over six years now, ask my neighbours, how many children I have killed ever since I came here. They never wanted to see us alive, and could kill anyone who frustrated them in achieving their goal. Some Bakkulo did not know what was going to happen, but those who knew something were equally bad people. They all wanted us to die. My wife's relatives overheard that they were coming for us, and sent someone to tell us to escape. They (wife's family) took the children with them, and as for us, we managed to escape before they arrived. When they finally came (to kill), we had long escaped and I cannot tell you who helped us escape. What do you think would have happened if the Bakkulo spread the message and wanted to help? Was it the Bakkulo's duty to inform the police or the LCs work? Things have changed and truth (justice) is for those who can afford to pay the LCs, the police and the courts. It is not for people like me and no one would stop (deter) the killings without money. You need money for everything, and the further you go (in the justice system), the more money you must spend. We should not blame our Bakkulo for keeping quiet because everything needs money!' Mr Kimanayi said (*3rd March 2004*).

While I was not able to get the direct views of any Makkulo witness on the subject, most people did not acknowledge having prior knowledge of the incident, yet claimed they had heard that other people in the village were aware of the plot before the violence. This made it quite hard to get a personal account of why individuals did not have the strength to either mediate using the traditional structure or report to high authority represented by chiefs, LCs, and the police for appropriate action and intervention before the violence became widespread.

Sociologically, the pattern and legitimacy of the traditional structures in this community seem to be changing due to the contradictions that exist between the traditional and modern forms of justice. The traditional structures are said to be losing respect gradually, according to Ms Gamisha (a local council leader) who thinks that clan authority is collapsing and losing touch with the young generation in her area of Bubyangu due to changing values and attitudes. She further revealed that families (nuclear) are failing in their responsibility to bring up children in the traditional way.

She said the relationship between the local councils and elders in the village was not harmonious, and advocated for unity between the traditional leadership and LCs in keeping peace. This she thought would make it easier for them to have a joint response in times of crisis as opposed to the violence period. She talked about restoration of blood relations through social gatherings, and introducing the youngsters to distant relatives to foster understanding across clans and villages, so as to help minimise cases of violence in the future. Ms Kainza (a sympathiser of perpetrators) also felt that there is a general trend of disrespect for elders among the youth, and furthermore, since clan leaders have very little commercial clout, and the youth have travelled to cities to earn, the clan leaders have lost their moral legitimacy.

Besides this, the Bakkulo relationship is generally weakening because of the prevailing poverty, commercialisation and modern laws. This system that thrives on a culture of mutual respect, trust, fear of reprisals, and mutual exchange, cemented the relationship for generations. It is rather difficult for this tradition to operate in the same way in times of scarcity, changing values and legality. In fact, though the structure still exists in Mbale, it is generally less active, more so when it comes to the tradition of grabbing assets to meet emergency needs of other Bakkulo.

Mr Kusolo a civil servant said:

‘When I was growing up, life was different. Everything was abundant and this kept the Bakkulo happy. A Mukkulo could go to any home, and openly take anything however big it could be, and no one would say anything, or touched him, but whom do you think can wait for so many years to reciprocate the action when everybody is patiently waiting for the chicken eggs to hatch fast so that the hen could be taken to the market the next day? Who can wait for a year to avenge a cow taken by a Mukkulo from his courtyard when he has school and medical fees to clear? If you are not careful, you can end up in prison for just a hen you may have snatched from a Mukkulo to serve an in-law (guest) who may have come in without notice, and cannot go on an empty stomach. Some

Bakkulo are even remarrying nowadays and are having healthy children. They think the taboos are useless and the curse is not real. Why should a Mukkulo die, because he is warning someone who is no longer very caring to him, when he too is in difficulty? It would mean he would be taken to court to explain what he knew later, and there is no way he can maintain the secrets at that level. There is so much to think of these days and people are being careful with what they say and do not say.' (Interview, 20th January 2004).

The Bukkulo structure seems not to be effective in managing all conflicts in this community. Besides, the prevailing economic trends promote individualism and competition for resources, as well as interest and rent on property, contradicting the traditional values of communal sharing. The traditional values promoted cooperation, sharing and trust. If a Mukkulo snatched a property from another Mukkulo to solve an immediate or impeding problem, it would be expected that a Mukkulo waits for some years before he could reciprocate the action. The time lag would allow the partner to find something else and put it in place. This may be regarded as theft and unlawful in the modern law. It is also uneconomical, especially where such assets were acquired through borrowed money. The borrower would be required to pay interest and this makes the traditional arrangement incompatible with prevailing economic situations. Scarcity of resources and changing values in general thus make it difficult for some of these traditional structures to be fully operational in this part of the country.

Some people are thought to have feared for their lives, and thus did not intervene. They also feared the hassle of courts, yet the economic situation has also rendered the traditional situation less beneficial. The motivation that kept the relations going have not been spared by changing socio-economic and political conditions. There are also dramatic social changes in attitudes towards taboos such that these are no longer sanctioned by an aura of the supernatural. This poses difficulties with strengthening this structure, because they tend to contradict the modern laws as well as socio-

economic changes in society. While the majority of the participants I talked to would love to have traditional structures strengthened and be used alongside the modern ones, the challenges on the way are many, and sustainability can not be easily guaranteed due to these socio-economic and political dynamics.

6:2:3 Modern Structures in Conflict Management in Mbale

It was observed and admitted that despite the availability of some information about the impending conflict and possible violence and massacre, the local civic and political leaders did not take the issue seriously. This was either due to institutional incapacity to handle crisis or the fear of venturing into the unknown. No one thus averted the violence at the time.

It is reflected in the voices of participants that to a large extent, the law enforcing officers were not courageous enough to face the problem, and the bureaucratic nature of government structures contributed to the delay in preventing the violence let alone deterring the massacres. Generally, the government reaction to the violence was rather ad hoc, reactive and short term. There was also a tendency to militarise the whole situation during and after the violence, rendering the people vulnerable to negative effects of militarisation of a conflict situation. Thus, the building of sustainable mechanisms and social forces that are self regulatory to enable reconciliation, forgiveness and healing important in conflict management and durable peace were not undertaken. The police and the military performed a respectable role in containing the violence when it erupted. What is disturbing however is that security was deployed even after the violence. The necessary processes involved, in evolving mechanisms through which an owning of the peace process by the grassroots could be encouraged, was not undertaken.

Accessibility to the legal system was also hard because the institutions are not in the physical reach of many people, and are perceived alien and corrupt, because the way of justice they offer seem contrary to the expectations of some rural people; an issue that is also observed by Nabudere, 2002; Ouma and Maseruka, 2005. For example Ouma and Maseruka, (ibid) reported that the Uganda police are the most corrupt institution in Uganda. This is closely followed by LC1, LC2 and LC3, and the local administration police take the third position. This is in line with the sentiments in the field which asserted that people do not report criminal cases, and that is why they did not report to police before the widespread violence in the area. They would rather take the law in their hands after shunning the justice system, allegedly due to inability to pay bribes. In fact the above report continues to say that 61% of those who had accessed legal services say they paid a bribe to the police, 53% who accessed legal and local administration claim to have also bribed for the service, and about 16% said they paid bribe to magistrates and high courts countrywide. The report concludes that traditional or cultural courts were the least corrupt of all. This shows the sorry state to which the modern justice is reduced. This is even worse for the rural poor who because of social injustices that surround their circumstances, can not afford bribes. This may explain why the people have no faith in the legal system, which for the case of Mbale greatly contributed to the escalation of the violent situation. Though these allegation are refuted by the police and other state departments, my experience in the courts showed that many documents for example had gone missing, which gave a signal of either deliberate misplacement of vital evidence or some sort of inefficiency in the system which requires addressing if the whole system is to regain its legitimacy.

Coolidge and Rose-Ackerman observed that in spite of the strong leadership (in Uganda) at the top levels, corruption remain a challenge (Coolidge and Rose-Ackerman, 2000) and civil servants who receive little in the way of official remuneration take any opportunities they can to enrich themselves as quickly as possible and corruption is evident at all levels. A vicious cycle of rent-seeking and political violence seem to have taken over the country, and cleaning up corruption will be a long process, and there is evidence of continuing corruption at all levels.

When responding to the police's role in civil conflict management, Mr. Kunikina a police officer explained that:

‘We respond to reports from the public. We need to get a statement from the public that we do record, before we deploy officers to try to assess the situation (dispute) in the field. Otherwise, if we went without being invited, we end up in problems because LCs are responsible in the villages and have authority to handle all problems at village level...What happened that time was that LCs got involved, and it was hard for them to help us (cooperate) solve the problem. In some areas where the LCs were not involved, they helped us to understand the area better, welcomed us to the scene of the crimes, and even gave us food which made our work easier and quicker...We have a department for societal policing which works closely with LCs to manage conflicts, and if only LCs could be more cooperative, such problems (future violence) would not arise at all. It is just because LCs are ignorant of the law, and not very cooperative with the police, that is why violence erupted that time. Since this police post was put in place in this area permanently, there has not been a major incident (of violence) compared to what happened then’ (*Interview, 23rd March 2004*).

From the available records at Mbale high court, the proceedings are discontinued due to lack of evidence because investigating officers are few, and there is a tendency to rush to arrest before thorough investigations are done. Sometimes witnesses just decline to show up during the hearing. Another issue related to this is purported corruption, and inadequate facilitation on part of the investigating team. The judicial proceedings seemed to be fair according to the available records, and with further facilitation and regularisation of alleged abuse of the system, efficiency could be

achieved. What needed strengthening was bridging the gap between the prosecuting teams and investigating teams for better coordination in the future.

It was also reported that there was no clear demarcation between the duties of chiefs, LCs, movement leaders and the police in this area. Mr Kunikina a police officer revealed that each institution was looking to the other to manage the conflict, and there was serious tension between these institutions. Some of these leaders are politicians who take sides in the cases for political reasons. The LCs could not handle capital offences for example. It is hard for the police to know without proper coordination that they were needed to intervene where capital offences were concerned. Many of such offences were being unreported. Though the societal policing department exists at the district level, at the time of the research, the department was understaffed and the officer in-charge was also serving as a commander of another independent post in Namatala, a suburb of Mbale town. When I visited Namatala and the Mbale Central Police station to understand the operation of the department better, the head of the section was overwhelmed by the numbers of cases she had to handle. She said that she was handling mainly domestic conflicts, and her department did not have branches at the grass root levels yet.

Those who needed the services therefore had to come to the central police station which was far away, and worse still is that the general public was not aware of the existence of the department. The aim of this department is to help people manage conflicts peacefully without resorting to either violence or courts of law. It had however become solely a domestic relations court. The person in-charge disclosed that the department is new, and she was personally undergoing in-service training, but

was optimistic the service would extend to rural communities as soon as the personnel and general facilitation of the staff were improved.

The inadequate facilitation and motivation of the police force in this part of the country renders it incapable of responding to any emergencies. The central police station had one vehicle to cover the district and to get fuel for it also requires time. Many times the police are forced to hire a car to respond to crisis but because of inadequate facilitation, the costs could be transferred to the public who asked for the service, though this is not officially declared. While some rural police posts had a bicycle, some areas are inaccessible by bicycle let alone the number of officers a bicycle can ferry at a time. Most of the killings during the 1995/96 violence took place in mountainous and remote areas of the district. Some victims were abducted from their homes at night and taken to distant hills and tortured before they were finally killed at the beginning of the violence, which made intervention very difficult since no one knew who was going to be the next target. Some murders for the case of Manjiya were concealed from the public eyes, and even when some family members knew what had befallen their kin, they reported them missing because it was not possible for them to guide anyone including law enforcing agents to the site of the mass graves when it was evident that the killers were still at large and had support of some leaders.

The general view of the police was that the community was not very cooperative in assisting the law take its course. Some principal perpetrators are walking scot-free to date, because the people did not want to take responsibility of unforeseen eventualities and blame from the relatives of these perpetrators in the community

where they are all living side by side. The LCs refute this assertion and put the claim on the inefficiency of the police force to provide security; law and order to the community.

Mr. Gotsowa, an LC member said:

‘It is very hard to manage the conflicts effectively when dealing with drunkards. They never learn anything and keep repeating the same mistakes. If we united, and the youth stopped drinking heavily, conflicts and violence would not occur here again. The youth are not doing anything constructive but drink from morning to evening and from there, they antagonise other people. And since reconciliation has not take place, you cannot tell what will happen tomorrow. As chairman, I have deployed my security agents (soldiers) who move around at night to reduce insecurity and crime and I monitor everything. If anyone is planning violence, we shall know and arrest him’ (*interview, 16th December 2003*).

It is alleged some people viewed the Mbale violence as a local and not very important issue to the authorities who had other pressing problems to handle. To such persons, this was a clan conflict and it was not the responsibility of government to interfere with clan problems. Mr Kisibo, a survivor said:

‘The government has become less concerned about the conflict, which is termed a clan problems and as I speak, reconciliation has not taken root all at all. There are no signs of hope yet, and no assistance is given to help bring about peace. There is need to counsel and guide residents to work together. To forgive each other and fight illiteracy, poverty and jealous that brought problems in the first place. In the affected areas, people still suspect others to be the sole cause of poverty for them. There is still more needed to be done to correct this state of hopelessness if things are to be normal again. We were not even compensated by the government or helped to resettle when we ran away. It is only those who lost property during the landslides later who got something but still, relatives and friends of LCs were the major beneficiaries even if they did not lose anything at all’ (*interview, 3rd February 2004*).

Mr Kalibo a state prosecutor explained that though the masses felt to have been let down during and after the violence, it was not fair to blame the judicial system entirely. He explained that despite the understaffing, they try to bring about justice

always. There was even a joint committee of senior officers concerned with justice and security that meet every two weeks to see how conflict management, justice and security could be improved in the district. The challenge to him was that the public was hindering justice since they do not openly come to testify in courts of law if required to do so hence, many criminals end up going scot-free because the prosecution fail to give enough evidence to convict anyone as was his experience with the violence. He explained that many times the court is shocked to hear that some cases were being withdrawn because the victims have been given some money outside the court; a common practice that was hindering justice to take its course.

A senior officer at the Mbale central police station explained that the constraints to justice are from different parties. Like Kalibo, he cited loss of interest in the cases by the public; making management of some conflicts difficult to fully achieve results. He explained that alternative means of resolving conflicts outside the litigation process were limited to minor offences, and because of this, those who can not afford to wait for years before a case is brought for hearing in court give up but may still keep the grudge because the case was never resolved. He said that because the people were ignorant of the law and are poor, many are compromised if the offence is a big one. Such people would opt for a bribe outside the court rather than give evidence on behalf of the state, but would get nothing to compensate the pain he she may have gone through.

What different parties thought of modern structures at the time after the violence according to Gamusi Malime (1996) is not so different from what was said during the research. Mr Kundu commented:

‘People killed others because the government is not helping us. We cannot manage serious conflicts like the one of that time by ourselves because some people do not respect others here and cannot listen to them. You know that the prophet is only popular outside his community. If the government deploys soldiers to protect us, there would not be any problems...When witches are arrested, nothing happens to them and they are released. And the courts are difficult to trust because you can never know the results, so when people say the court should help us when we have problems, I do not understand how they can do that’ (*interview, 22nd February 2004*).

At the prisons at Maluku where most people were remanded before their cases were heard, officers remembered the story of the violence well, but there was no evidence that they have in place any psychological or mental rehabilitations programme for the inmates so as to prepare them for the challenges of life after prison. There were religious services in place to care for the spiritual needs, but these did not meet individual psychological needs of particular inmates who may have suffered or been devastated by the violence. Kamoti, a prisons officer when asked about the role his department plays in conflict management and peace said:

‘for us we are just custodians, and it is not our duty to get involved with what happens in the community. It is the police and LCs that take care of community problems, and for us here, we take care of the inmates and produce them in court when asked to do so. That is all. When they are sick, we take them to hospital because we do not have a doctor here now. That is all we do’ (*interview, 8th January 2004*).

My experience is that prisons’ personnel do not get to fully know the prisoners and the crimes committed by each so much because their work is more to keep custody, and they are overwhelmed by the numbers. This was contrary to earlier acknowledgements that prisons are rehabilitation centres. Related to this is the question of congestions in all prisons I visited including local council detention units. Maluku prison was over congested and the explanation given was that of delayed justice, as most prisoners were there on remand. Maluku prison with a capacity of 200

inmates was having over 800 inmates at the time of the research; four times the planned capacity.

There was a challenge of re-integrating the freed, who could be perceived by others as guilty perpetrators of the violence, into normal community life. The prisons were also not equipped or facilitated to prepare returnees to the new life outside prison, and there are no other social services rendered to such persons either at the committee level or local administration initiative to ease integrations and reintegration after the violence. This remains an uphill task for all, since there seem to be strong disagreements in opinion as to whether justice was done or not. Some view those who were released as guilty, who were not fully punished for the crimes they had committed and resent their presence in their neighbourhoods. This is a salient problem that needs urgent attention if real peace and development is to return in this area.

Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, (2000) and Crawley, (2000), have expressed the importance of legal structures in bringing about justice, which is thought to develop peace in communities. Boulding as quoted by Sandole and Merwe, (1993) expressed pessimism in leaving peace problem to the state and advocated for the civil society including NGOs. Here, the civil society men and women work together for deeper cultural change (Boulding In Sandole and Merwe [ibid]). While this is worth exploring if the communities are to own their initiatives including peace, it does not mean that the state should leave its obligation of protecting its citizens entirely to civil society, more so where the civil society is generally weak, as in Mbale. Modoola (1993) argues that Uganda's formal legal, political and administrative structures are not institutions, and defines institutions as an accepted way (governed by rules,

regulations and norms) of resolving conflicts by an organization. According to him, the lack of these institutions has created an atmosphere for marginalized groups to seek to overthrow the established order, reflected in the acts of the youth who took the law in their hands to brutally punish those suspected of witchcraft, resulting into misfortune in their communities.

To address this, state has a duty to address the weaknesses of the modern structures such as accessibility and general inefficiencies as well as strengthen traditional ones so that the duo can compliment each other in conflict management, peace and sustainable development. This is likely to restore people's confidence and trust in the justice system, deter possible outbreaks of violence and route resources that are wasted in violence management to more productive ventures for national development. Otherwise the current system is rather irrelevant when poor communities scattered in villages in rural areas find the formal court system located so far away from them that it requires a lot of time and expense to access it. Especially where the manner in which laws and procedures are practised in the formal courts as well as the language used are incomprehensible most communities hence, irrelevant to the needs of the people especially the poorest of the poor. In such circumstances, the costs of bringing justice to the vulnerable by responsible government departments is too prohibitive to meet because of the relative underdevelopment and scarcity (Nabudere, 2002).

Nabudere's argument when talking about East Africa that the system is too costly, and that it amounts to denial of justice to the poor is not out of context in the Mbale situation. Here, the judicial system is both inaccessible and inappropriate to the rural socio-economic and political setting, making conflict management process by the

modern institutions very complex. And 'it's worse still if a bailed person is required to report to police or courts periodically from unaffordable distances' (ibid). Nabudere's assertion is that people distrust the concept of justice under the formal setting, which is deemed western, because the concept of justice in traditional systems was built into the social structures and was considered equitable and egalitarian is debatable. His argument that the western concept of justice which is defined by law, and based on some ethical principles connected with private property and capitalistic profits and therefore alien to generally communal societies based on kinship, small scale production for market and subsistence, is a real challenge in the conflict management matrix in the Mbale context. There is a real dilemma involving some element of restitution and reconciliation rather than 'the imposition of fines and meting out of corporal punishment' (ibid) which needs serious attention. This may explain why even the poor who have access to the formal western style justice, still find it incomprehensible why the accused persons go scot-free when the system does not directly compensate the affected parties for the damages done to them as was the case in Mbale during the crisis. This calls for adoption of justice systems that suit the socio-economic and ethical demands of the people so as to meet the current demand for justice, human rights and peace.

For the justice system to be fair, both the traditional and modern systems must be constantly evaluated to take into consideration changes in values and practices over time, so as to adequately integrate them in a justice system for sustainable peace to be envisaged in Mbale. What needs to be addressed in particular is addressing attitudes and beliefs of all the parties involved in the conflict management process at all levels, so that the whole process begins from within individuals who form the core of society.

This can be effected through both formal and non formal education. Other social groups that can be targeted are churches and mosques, youth and women groups, cultural leaders who are in-charge of cultural rituals like *imbalu*. This sensitisation for positive change in attitudes will in turn affect behaviour and promote peace.

Other lessons we learn from the Mbale situation is involvement of medical personnel in the justice and conflict management system. It was said that post mortem expenses made for an added burden to the already aggrieved families. The leadership needs to address this in the future for referral in conflict management policy design and implementation. Mr Kotakyi, a witness said:

‘we were forced to bury bodies found and people did not want to follow up the long procedure of reporting, because it required money for both the doctors and the police. LDUs (Local defence units personnel) asked us to bury the bodies and no ceremonies were conducted, as most people were still in hiding’ (Interview, 3rd April 2004).

The dead were thus hurriedly buried as family feared what would befall them individually. Time for grieving was also not adequate for the affected people, hence the need to put in mechanism to allow healing of hearts. Most crime including violence thus seems to reflect inadequacies in the criminal justice system particularly in the police, courts and prisons partly because the judicial system is based on the colonial system, hence alien to the needs of the area, as it does not seem to understand the traditional African justice system as well as the inadequacies of the institutional structures in ensuring that real justice prevails for all.

The police as an impartial law and order agent is acknowledged by some and refuted by others. Mr Kunikina a police officer said that:

'the police have problems in areas where the violence took place. The LCs are not very cooperative, they take sides in cases and whenever the police is going for arrest, they have to take special caution since people (communities) are very hostile towards the police...we are also very few and if not careful can be overwhelmed by the masses and life is dear' (*interview, 23rd March 2004*).

This is refuted by a one Mr. Kitutu, an alleged perpetrator who said that the police took bribes and sides during the violence period which affected justice. He claimed that some people are still shielded by the police despite their involvement in the violence yet others are hunted because they never yielded to bribes. The local leaders and police were never persecuted for their purported involvement in the violence and other abuses. In effectively managing conflict situations, impartiality needs to be observed. There are thus strong feelings that local leaders and police benefited from the violence yet remained immune to persecution for such abuses. Restoration of transparent leadership is vital if the vulnerable who are usually the poor in poor communities are to seek retribution, and those who benefit from the violence may also become more conscious of their actions and be more responsible for peace to prevail.

There is no doubt that the civil society including the existing traditional structures are generally weak, and are looking to the state for intervention in their social economic problems. This was not different at the time of the violence, since the masses looked to their leaders to report to the police for intervention, despite the police being ill equipped to respond to emergencies. It is therefore apparent that the real problem is political failure to put in place right policies, practices and institutions that can effectively help in conflict management, violence prevention and sustainable peace.

The way cases are handled from the grass root level leaves a lot to be desired. The government needs to empower this community to devise ways of managing conflicts

before violence erupts, other than always looking to the state to solve all its problems. Leadership at this level is still lacking and incapacitated by poverty and helplessness. There is need to revive the moral order despite its fragility in the area. Even when the finger has been pointed to the justice system in the management of violence in this study, this trend is a collective disease in Uganda and Mbale in particular that must be fought from the individual level to the bigger society. Cutbacks in social spending at the national level in the recent past have affected all but the rural poor most, and this needs to be addressed at the macro level. Equity and fairness in dividing the national cake through effective budgeting is likely to improve institutional effectiveness in the justice system, and this will bring about peace in this area and the country at large.

6.3 Conclusion

The violence in Mbale reveals the failure on the part of institutional structures, be it modern or traditional, to perform effectively. Policy therefore needs to aim at invigorating and empowering these institutions in the future, to manage conflicts effectively for violence prevention and peace building through socio-economic, political, legal and constitutional networks. Thus, peace needs to be on top of development agendas so as to enhance its sustainability in the post conflict situation, and allow development to take root. The whole community requires to work in unison to prevent and control conflicts before they turn violent. This comprehensive approach to conflict management needs to address the sources of violence, for stability and sustainability of peace to be achieved in this post conflict situation. Since the sources were diverse and interlinked, a multi dimensional approach to conflict management is what is needed. This approach advocates for full participation by all stakeholders at all levels of society in peace prevention, peace building and peace sustaining for sustainable peace and development.

Chapter Seven: Peace Prospects and Challenges

7.1:1 Introduction

This chapter examines the possibilities for peace in the post conflict situation in Mbale. It discusses how peace and social justice could be restored in a community that has suffered the violent conflicts. I have explained that insecurity, disharmony and mistrust cannot be ignored when dealing with sustainable peace and development. This is because sustainable development cannot be achieved without putting in place strategies for peace in the areas that suffered the violence. I have thus drawn from the research ways in which conflicts could be prevented from becoming violent and or managed for sustainable peace and sustainable development in the area.

7.1: 2 Peace in the Post Violent Situation in Mbale

Scholars of peace have analysed the applicability of peace in the world marred by different forms of conflicts including violent conflicts. They all seem to agree that though conflicts are part of social interactions, they should be managed so as not to result into violent conflicts. They also acknowledged that peace is hard to achieve, peace building a complex process and its strategy is determined according to each unique situation (Galtung, 1996, 2002; Havermans, 2002; Keating and Knight, 2004; Knight, 2003; Lund, 1988, 1999; Natios, 1997). Many of these scholars have advocated for continued and varied strategies by different players in building a peaceful environment at any one time (Hopp and Klope-Lesch, 2005; Lederach, 1997; Galtung, 1996; Lund, 1988, 1999B; Natios, 1997, 1999). Peace is an important requirement in all societies including deprived communities because it can be a useful basis upon which any development effort can take place. Peace thus provides a bedrock for development. In Mbale were scarcity and violent masculinity influenced

how conflicts were handled leading to violence, peace-building initiatives are important to address these critical issues. Sustainable peace building to bring about sustainable development is a long and fragile process if it is to yield positive peace (Galtung, 1996). Above all, Hartman and Boyce propounded that all change requires literacy and empowerment to control ones destiny for self-determination (Hartman and Boyce, 1998) vital requirement for development.

Peace is an essential requirement to both local and national development. It is therefore difficult to separate the concept of sustainable peace from that of sustainable development (Lederach, 1997). Besides, understanding the specific sources and effects of violence helps tailor strategies to address the peace question in the post conflict situation. This provides a basis upon which one can argue for violent conflict prevention and management in a society (Hopp and Kloke-Lesch, 2005) like Mbale.

In all the communities visited during the research in Mbale, people were living side by side with those from the other side of the conflict. This seemed to reflect peace on the surface. However, after interacting closely with different people in the post violent situation, I began to realise that tensions associated to the violence were still going on in the daily lives of many in the community. There seems to have been failure to either forgive, reconcile or even start on a dialogue that could lead to any form of settlement as witnessed in the festering grudges in the aftermath of the violence.

Direct responses to questions on peace issues at individual and community levels were quite rich and diverse. Respondents talked about either loss of or desire for restoration of *kimilembe* and *lukosi* (terms meaning peace or harmony as well as

honour and security), for friendship and trust to return to their communities. Frequently, people would cite the good days when everyone was living *mumilembe* (in peace) with others without suspicion or fear, and the loss of this was mourned in the community by the community of the area studied. At other times, what would be talked about was the desire for the revival of *lukosi* and *kimilembe* in the area. Though *lukosi* may mean honour, it was clear that they were referring to presence of security. There was a real shared desire among people to return to normal life as was the case during the pre-violence times. The general response and concern for most of the people was that normality had not actually returned, their relationships had changed, and that *full* peace had not been restored. Thus, although calm had returned after the violence, *full* peace (which I may call positive peace) had not fully returned in the community.

Mr Kisibo a survivor said;

'There are no signs of hope for full peace to return but we are so far living peacefully...There has been no assistance (from government) at all to counsel and guide the people here on poverty, reconciliation and literacy...some people still think others are making them poor, which creates a state of hopelessness for some of us...I greet them (perpetrators) but can not shake hands with them and if I do not extend a greeting to them first, many can not greet me yet they have hurt my family and I would be the one not to be (extending) greetings to them' (interview, 3rd Feb 2004).

A greeting is a very important gesture among the Bagisu people. There was even a saying in the area that says that one would rather be denied food but not a greeting. The fact that some people cannot freely offer this is a sign that all is not so well. There are claims that some people are shunned in social gatherings. Sharing is an important virtue, and those who are shunned carry a heavy social stigma. Mr Kisibo

also raised an issue of intervention strategies to restore normal relations (peace inclusive) and points a finger at failure on the part of leadership to initiate this.

Mr Kunikina a police officer feels that security has improved but peace has not yet become deep rooted in the community:

‘These people still hate each other but generally security has improved...the suspected perpetrators sometimes come to the villages but nobody reports this to us, and we can not act until some one has reported because we respond to reports and demands of the people not our own...Nothing serious is likely to happen in future because we are very alert now...the LCs should handle the quarrels to stop some people disturbing others’ (*interview, 23rd March 2004*).

This shows the existence of the conflict related hatred manifestations among the people ten years after the violence. As earlier mentioned, peace is vital and absence of peace in the area could aggravate the already tense situation marred by violent masculinity and misery in different forms resulting from conditions of scarcity.

Ms Kakayi a witness reported that:

‘... in fact full peace has not returned since then. The situation is worse than before. We are now very careful about what we say and we do not say very much because people are hiding anger. When someone dies, you hear that he or she was bewitched to revenge the death of someone who was killed during that time. Some people do not go to social functions, even if they are relatives, because of what happened. Some people are quiet but they are not stupid, they know who did what during the time, and only God knows what they are planning...recently there were car accidents and people are just guessing about what may be behind everything (accidental tragedies). As you know, the pot that was once used to prepare *issufa* (traditional bitter vegetables) will never lose the taste of the bitterness (meaning a witch will remain witch and the hurt ones shall remain hurt) and of course *iyappa masalawo* (a cane that was used to discipline your mother-law will be used unto the new bride if it has not been burnt)’ (*interview, 26th February 2004*).

There fear of witchcraft, of attributing tragedies to the cycle of vengeance and violence continues to be a disturbing trend in the region. Mr Guloba a civil leader said:

‘I think people are peaceful but you cannot know what is inside the hearts because blood (loss) is hard to be easily forgotten. Would you be at peace with someone who killed your own? You can live together (neighbourhood), because

there is no choice, but it is hard to be friends with such a person. I am not saying anyone has told me that there will be trouble, but I am just saying what I know happens. People were murdered and everyone saw what happened. You could forgive a thief easily but not a murderer...' (interview 12th December 2003). There are acute questions relating to the issues of forgiveness and justice that remain lingering in people's thoughts. These need serious attention before peace can be fully restored.

Mr Kitongo, a perpetrator who is still at large, said:

'It is not safe for me to return home permanently because peace has not yet returned. I will go back when the time is ripe enough and when I am sure nothing will happen to me. I can still be arrested and my life would be in danger because nothing much has changed. Those witches are still there, and can do what they want, and no one will know' (interview, 2nd March 2004).

As much as the survivors still live in fear of the purported unfinished agenda, perpetrators fear the *witches'* revenge. They continue to justify their actions and believe that the scarcities and calamities they face in their lives are the works of witches, and are thus not ready to face the justice system; a trend that makes the Mbale situation more difficult. No wonder prevention of violence is better than having to deal with the challenges of the aftermath period.

Positive peace has not gained ground, and new antagonisms seem to exist in daily interactions. All the same, the violent conflict was stopped and some form of stability created. The fact that community desires *full* peace to return should not be ignored, and political leadership needs to heed to this call for the good of the communities concerned, and the nation at large. This call to the leadership is a sign that the people understand that leadership is crucial in their lives, something that must not be underestimated; a sign that peace is possible if attempts are made to initiate and integrate peace strategies in the general development agenda in the area.

Justice interestingly is thought to have been done by some people and not by others. Perpetrators feel justice was not done at all, and continue to justify their actions. There is thus continued tendency to legitimise the violence. Many perpetrators and sympathisers have continued to say that the persons who were imprisoned; were unfairly convicted by the courts. Interestingly, there is no consensus among the survivors regarding justice questions. Some of them say justice was done because those who attacked them have been reprimanded. The majority however feel justice was not done at all because the crimes the perpetrators committed were not proportional to the punishments they received. Others said that many perpetrators are still at large and some were released even when this category of survivors view them as guilty. This tendency could be contributing to the overall peace situation in the villages.

The fear and mistrust seem to continue to exist as many are not sure of what lies ahead from both parties in the antagonism. The pain of loss has not been addressed, tempting me to conclude that the agencies that dealt with the violence were successful in managing the violence, but ran short of managing the process of achieving sustainable peace. The question that remains here is whether the leadership is interested in managing the conflicts and not the violence. Managing the violence meant stopping the violent hostilities that emanated in the murders and destruction that took close to six months to stop. However, to move beyond managing violent conflict to comprehending and addressing the sources and consequences of violence, requires more sustained work. This would help to restore peace for socio-psychological, economic, and political stability and development in the post conflict

situation. This is likely to be a hard and a slow process which requires to be effectively addressed if the community is to avoid a recurrence of violence.

What is apparent is that though some tension may exist and could build up in the areas that suffered the violence, there is general calm and people are going on with their lives despite the general feeling that some things have changed from normality since the eruption of the violence. There are varied reasons why real peace may have failed to take root ten years after the violence. Peace for the case of Mbale could be attained if necessary structures are put in place; where a peace-building system and strategy is aimed at building and sustaining peace in the area. It was clear however that with the prevailing circumstances in the setting that local initiatives alone were not able to achieve real peace. There is thus a need for bridging the conflict gaps, and this calls for support in material and technical form from other stakeholders that will help address questions of deprivation, scarcity and violent masculinity in its different forms. The existing traditional and modern structures in the first place were unable to deter the violence, and cannot be fully relied upon to initiate durable peace strategies without any help. Besides, military means need to be used only to stop a violent situation escalating further but the vicious cycle of violence requires that the questions of scarcity and masculinity be adequately addressed. Galtung, (1996) provides a praxis triad of how peace could be achieved which can be easily translated and adopted in this post conflict situation.

In Mbale, different strategies are required to enable sustainable peace. These should aim at understanding the sources of contention and appropriately addressing them. These include emotional and socio-psychological, economic as well as structural

changes at different levels of society. Thus, the current silence between the grieved and aggrieved antagonistic parties need to be replaced with communication and dialogue besides early warning interventions.

7.1:3 Masculinity and Peace in Mbale

Cockburn observed that that 'women are not natural peace-makers; rather having escaped masculine socialisation, they may be freer to formulate a transformative, non-violent vision' (Cockburn, 2001:24) in the aftermath period. Women in Mbale may not be natural peacemakers, but can be useful agents in the peace making process if their socialised abilities are harnessed in a society where violent masculinity is strongly embedded in social relations in the area.

The women are the custodians of children in Mbale and can gradually reverse the socialised masculinity. The women are responsible for keeping kinship links which is vital in strengthening relations of peace. There is also a general trend for women in the area to form social groups for their development and family welfare. There existed bereavement and credit groups commonly known as *Bussale* (friendship) where women exchanged gifts, helped each other during times of hardship such as bereavement in the area. These groups are helping cement relations between women, but could also be empowered to work as peace agents. This potential could be effectively harnessed and shifted to peace. What remains is to fully integrate and involve women as a social group in decision making at policy.

Mr. Kisibo told me that even when women may seem not to have power, in many families among the Bagisu, women play a significant reconciling role in family conflicts, they are perceived as impartial and respected by their male family members

since it is generally perceived that they have no interest in family resources which usually lead to family grudges. This was supported by a one Mr. Kibeti who said that girls (women) are important mediators who can be trusted to bring peace in family disputes. These women can employ these potentials beyond the family to the community; and institutional structures if empowered to do so.

Though men are more prone to violent acts than women in Mbale, men in this community require peace for their own safety as men as well as for other members of the community. Men during the violence were victims as well as perpetrators, signify masculinity violence against men of the community who are the 'haves' hence purported witches by the 'havenots'; the purported bewitched. Related to this is the recognition as seen in chapter five that many men like women have suffered in the post violence situation which makes it important for the two gender to be partners in building peace in their community, and addressing the question. Women are capable of and have promoted violent masculinity in this community, hence this identification of the fact that the Gishu masculinity could not have thrived over time without this support is important in peace.

7.1:4 Tradition, Beliefs and Peace

To achieve sustainable peace, the question of witchcraft has to be studied, clarified and adequately addressed as a form of violence, as well as other forms of violence in the community. The position of witchdoctors who can either reinforce violence, or peace, depending on their personal agenda and orientation is vital. If witchdoctors are socialised towards peace and non-violent ways of resolving and managing conflicts, they would aid in sustaining peace in the villages because their advice is always sought and followed by many in the area studied. As explained by Mbiti (1969) and

Green and Mesaki (2005), witchcraft beliefs are still strong, influence interpretation of different socio-economic and political happenings, and a useful medium for change if targeted by policy and the civil society.

All participants in this study said that witchdoctors are usually consulted to help explain what could be disturbing individuals or their relations even when some said they did not personally consult witchdoctors. Many in Mbale like in the rest of Africa (ibid) believed in the powers of witches that can only be repulsed by witchdoctors. While people in developed places may seek the help of counsellors, in this area, the help of witchdoctors is sought. Targeting witchdoctors to help preach peace rather than promote and precipitate hatred, conflicts and violence would be a step towards sustainable peace. Such a strategy worked and was a success when circumcision surgeons and witchdoctors were targeted and acted as change agents in promoting best practices to control and combat HIV/AIDS in the area.

My personal experience was that progressive churches like Pentecostals had adopted witchdoctor tactics to attract followers. Literally, they behave in the same manner as the witchdoctors. Mr Kusolo reported that he used to see the witchdoctors to explain the problems in his family and now sees a pastor (church leader) to do the same. The differences between the two seem to be in the source of the power to foretell and heal; witchdoctors get the power from *Kimisambwa* (ancestral spirits) and the modern religions get the inspiration from God. In both cases, they both receive gifts where the witchdoctors receive items ranging from chicken, goats to cows and sometimes money depending on the problem being handled. Religious leaders usually receive money which is meant to sustain the churches or mosques, usually referred to as

offerings and charity or poor due. Most religions use music in sending the message; the Bagisu love music and use it at different cultural functions like feasting, circumcision, funeral rites, child naming, marriage, harvest and fertility rituals, and most recently in violence. Extraordinary events in the area are communicated through music. All these agents can be integrated in the peace-building package of this area

7.1: 5 Resource Scarcity and Peace

Land issues and resource scarcity including unemployment of the youth played a major role in escalating the violence. Inequality in resource allocation led to the violence, and is this is harmful to growth. It is therefore apparent that land policy issues as well as unemployment issues are addressed for peace. Peace could thus be achieved if the problems related to infertility of land are for example addressed and productivity increased.

The question of unexplained deaths in the area is also a big one. Until the causes of premature deaths as well as the actual cause of death is clearly explained to the bereaved, people will continue to find ways of finding possible explanations to such health problems. Adam Curle is quoted by Cockburn to have said that ‘identified development as one of the key components of peace-building’ and advocated for ‘restructuring of conflictual relationships from below so as to create a situation, a society or a community in which individuals are enabled to develop and use to the full their (potential and) abilities for creativity, service and enjoyment. Unless development in this sense can take place, no settlement will lead to a secure and lasting peace’ (Curle 1971 in Cockburn, 2001). The focus here is long-term peace building as opposed to short peace making which is strongly advocated for in this thesis.

Diversification of sources of income can help the people to be less dependent on traditional ways of earning a living, and help them fight poverty and depreciating conditions. Economic power will enable them to negotiate favourably in political and social relations, and is a significant component in peace and development. The rejuvenation of the cooperative societies in the villages for example will foster cooperation as well as avoid exploitation by private and monopolistic businessmen. It could promote cooperation and networking as opposed to isolation and will improve bargaining for these peasants in the market place.

Despite the challenge that these communities have, to produce on the small plots of land available to them for farming, my experience in the area was that the taxes for farm produce were extremely high and not well regulated, and seemed not to be ploughed back in anyway from the tendered private tax collectors. They seemed to be only interested in making maximum profits regardless of the implications the tax system was having on the lives of the poor people. It was alleged that the tax collectors borrow to be able to bribe tendering officials before they can win a taxation tender bid, thus must repay such expenditures and at the same time make profits in the shortest time possible. The effects of this to the poor was so profound. This requires to be addressed so that the poor are not manipulated by the privileged. Equitable sharing of limited resources will improve the economic well-being of the people and empower the people, a necessary foundation for sustainable peace (Nation, 1999; Roche, 2004).

Ms Kharono believes peace lies in the hands of the state alone. The state therefore needs to take an upper hand, but without the support of the civil society and grass-root participation, peace may never be sustained (Adedeji, 1999; Nation, 1999; Lederach, 1997; Galtung, 1996; Lund, 1988, 1999B; Natios, 1997, 1999). She also hinted at institutional issues that were fueling conflicts that need to be addressed so as to reduce conflicts and hinder them from turning tense and violent. There seems to be a serious problem of unity as well as leadership by the local leaders which also requires serious attention. Leaders must be seen to be pro peace to motivate the led to be peaceful, otherwise if leaders are not seen to be promoting peace, little can be done to restore confidence in peace building let alone its sustainability.

Structural empowerment and restructuring could also help restore durable peace in the area. It may not be feasible in the short-run to improve modern and formal structures (deemed foreign and expensive), without taking into consideration the already existing informal structures which only require revival at the very minimal cost. This will promote grass root and bottom up initiatives. Ms Kharono was for example quick to praise the clan leaders and rebuke the local leaders on the question of peace in her area.

7.1: 6 The Media in Conflict and Peace

Mr Kaato analysed the question of failure for peace to return in the following words:

‘peace cannot return before the real problems are addressed. Those people still believe in witchcraft and feel witches were left without punishment. The so called witches feel the courts failed them by not killing those who had killed their relatives. There are no NGOs in this area to talk about peace and people here are too poor and illiterate to think about peace and reconciliation when they must look for ways of filling their stomachs that day...Please, no one can lie to you that locals can mobilise themselves from the blue. They need government, NGOs and churches to help them. You must have heard of what is happening in Rwanda and South Africa. Governments are behind everything...you are right

that we also have a role to play to sensitise people but how many journalists are operating here? I am now in charge of the whole of the East and North East and cannot be everywhere. I have not been here for two weeks now because the president was in the North so I had to cover the events. May be the radios can do it but still will need to be paid by someone to use their airtime since they have taxes, rent and wages to pay...It is all difficult my friend' (*interview, 24th March 2004*).

Mr Kaato says that the causes of the violence need to be addressed if peace is to return. He also shows the challenges of peace agents in promoting peace in the area which require attention at policy and leadership level.

In Bufumbo the media played a key role in hindering wide spread violence. Mr Kaato, a journalist claimed that had he not reported to the police, the situation would have gone out of control like was the case in Manjiya. This is because he had established a working relationship with the people in the area and they run to inform him about what was happening in the area then. It is also important that different structures work hand in hand always. While the media got the story for the day, they also informed the police in time to calm the tensions. My experience in the area was that most people listened to the radio even when they did not own one. If the radio is targeted, it can promote peace. Unfortunately, stories of violence seemed to attract more coverage than stories of peace. Mr Kaato said that individual reporters may wish to cover peace more, but their stories may not be published so they have to go with what was likely to be published, not what was very useful to the people; since extra ordinary stories (such as violence) sell more than ordinary stories. Since Editors of media houses control the output, they should be targeted and involved in peace propaganda and sensitisation regarding initiative that could address scarcity and violent masculinity.

As a social responsibility, the media industry needs to rethink its social responsibilities and use its position to promote and propagate peace at every opportunity. The media can actively get engaged in violent conflict prevention through peacebuilding advocacy and propaganda rather than simple violence reporting as was the case during the 1995-96 violence. There is a real chance that media can create awareness through affordable and accessible channels to rural communities, which may not necessarily be profitable to the media firms while knowing that peace can never be achieved without key stakeholders making sacrifices in the short run for greater gains in the long-run. Peace prevalence creates conditions for investment and development; gains that would be reaped in the long-run by all including business organizations due to the trickle down effects of overall development. Once peace has taken root it creates a conducive environment for investment and production; scarcity would be addressed. This is a justification for the civil society, government together with the business organisations to sponsor peace advocacy programmes because all will gain from stability of the environment that comes with conflict management and peace-building.

7.1:7 Education in Social Change for Peace

Another key institution to peace and development is that of education and training.

Education leads to change of attitudes and affects behaviour depending on what it emphasises. It is one form of empowerment that lasts, and durable peace requires lasting social change (Roche, 2004; Natsios, 1997; Babbitt, 1997).

Education can change the hearts by addressing deep rooted attitudes, beliefs and cultures of violence. As Mr. Kimono rightly put it: 'educate the people [community]'

Peace education could be done through formal institutions as well as in civic, non-formal or informal networks. This is key in peace-building because if the community takes on peace through education, then any peace efforts can easily be sustained. Policy makers and planners thus need to give priority in supporting the current initiatives to incorporate peace education in the curriculum at primary levels. Efforts need to be put in place to also initiating professional training in conflict management and peace at teacher training colleges and higher education institutions to train personnel in peace education.

The current education system disadvantages the rural children from urban children, and is not skill oriented. All evidence suggest that the education system seems to generate inequality between the rural and urban, haves and have nots; hence children from rural and poor backgrounds are left out of the system creating serious imbalances and inequalities. This inequality leads to structural violence of poverty and deprivation. The education system thus needs to be more focused in addressing the root causes of the violence [masculinity and scarcity], inculcate positive thinking in the minds of young people, be vocational oriented to promote skills that fit rural life, so as to help improve the quality of the rural people in this area. Special or even on job training for teachers and parents in peace education will give rural children a better deal in the education system necessary for their setting which is prone to violent conflicts emanating from socio-economic underdevelopment.

Adult training for parents and the unemployed youth in income generating activities and survival skills is important. This will help improve the quality of their lives and that of their families besides raising household incomes thus addressing scarcity and

deprivation. The training is likely to enhance people's participation in community development. It will help restore self esteem and reduce dependency on land and the women folk in the family for livelihood. Education will also improve people's confidence in communication; a vital tool in negotiation and conflict resolution process, and a step towards harmonious cooperation as they forge a way to peace and reconciliation.

Mr. Kwanga a prisons officer when asked about the role his department was playing in helping former detainees for example to re-integrate in communities had this to say:

'Some victims were brought here...Our work is simple, look after them and produce them to court whenever demanded by the courts...we have counsellors who guide them while they are here. We have a workshop and train them and some are allowed to sit for UNEB (Uganda national examination board) and some do well...Some leave this place after they have become good Muslims or Christians but others are brought back after being released when they commit another offence out there... we have both men and women who commit core crimes like murder but most of them are of course men... we plan to establish a school here so as to fully rehabilitate them before they go back but now we have a hall which can be used as a library (no books there) and a workshop. The only worry is that the youngsters are not well guided due to what human rights people are talking about, and the remand homes have since collapsed and it is expensive for parents to pay for remand services...So the problem is not because prisons are not rehabilitating offenders, you can see that the issue is bigger than this' (*interview, 27th February 2004*).

My experience in the prisons was that the prisons were not able to hire trained therapists and counsellors but were depending on untrained religious leaders to take charge of the spiritual interests of prisoners. While the prisons are commended for this, there are no initiatives at other levels such as in the villages to counsel either victims or perpetrators of the violence. It was revealed that the courts have plans to extend trained judges and mediators at county and even sub county levels to help address peaceful resolution of disputes in the future.

Mr. Kimono, a police officer said:

‘...government should educate the community. They should provide means of helping people on how to earn a living like agriculture, business, poultry and many others. People may not listen to the LCs, so these educators must come from government as concerned visitors, and target men especially because they feel they have authority in this place, and youths between 20 and 30 years, because they do not have work and most of them are illiterate. There is a lot of poverty that makes people bad but if these people adopted farming and growing crops like cabbages and other vegetables, they would get money and be happy. There is no land here (land is scarce) but those who are zero-grazing are doing fine, but attracting jealousy from others... They even harass the police but we now know home per home; we are aware of their manners and we can mobilise them easily and teach them about the law and we think they can take the advice’ (*interview, 1st March 2004*).

There is need to promote communication and dialogue in the area for peace to thrive. The survivors and witnesses went through and are still going through psychological difficulties of coping and negotiating stigma associated with witchcraft as well as pain after the torture. Some of those whose relatives are thought to have been killers are shattered with shame and stigma of what their loved ones did, and are facing apathy from others due to a sense of shared responsibility of blame. There is thus a real and urgent need for counselling services and other means of social and psychological support to allow healing. Despite this nothing is in place a decade since. The local leadership has to make initiatives and bring the community on board if the peace-building is to begin and be sustained. Involvement of an elder from family or clan for example could allow the disputants to move away from accusations and counter accusations, to soothe hurt feelings and reach compromises that may help improve future relations (Nation, 1998) and build about peace. The health departments should be brought on board to improve delivery of services in handling the stressed and traumatised to complement family support in the area. And the training of local support workers on different health problems and promoting family participation in very important.

There is thus an urgent need to open possibilities to ease reconciliation through education for social change that would ease dialogue and information transfer. The reality on the ground is that communication from antagonistic parties does not seem to have taken root. This is limiting negotiation, forgiveness and collaboration which would help restore hope, trust and peaceful development. Ms Kharono a bereaved member said:

'no, we do not talk about it, we can not just talk about it anymore, we just keep quiet since no one knows how we feel about life after that problem (the violence) because they do not know how it feels to be like me now. Nothing can change what happened to me and I just keep looking on as they rejoice freely after all they have done to us (her family)' (*interview, 14th January 2004*).

Promotion of communication and cooperation is important in helping parties ventilate and be able to hear the other party's position. This can enable new alternative forms of peace-building, a task that the leadership and the community in general need to handle sensitively. Communities for example could be encouraged to have regular meetings and open dialogue to address the questions of misinformation where rumours are taken as absolute truth, problems of resource degradation and scarcity. Some form of flexibility is thus required if these different options are to be tried over time to open up communication gaps between the parties, otherwise silence can only work in the short run to avoid antagonism, but can not be a feasible option for sustainable peace because grudges may be kept for ever, waiting for an opportunity to generate violence; a vicious cycle of violence and counter violence.

In fact some few people had negotiated peace deals at individual levels, despite the allegations that some of these were conditional deals and some form of manipulation used by some survivors to disguise the threat they pose to families of suspected

perpetrators by hindering them from repossessing their properties. In this way, the negotiations were a deal to maximize crude personal gains and cannot be assumed to sustain peace in the future if such allegations are true. This is because it is personal interest that influenced their willingness for re-integration as opposed to social benefits and the urge for genuine reconciliation, forgiveness and peace. Mr Kotakyi was one of those who showed optimism that things were improving and some peace existed:

‘We are now organised, even thieves after serving their sentences are re-integrated fully in the villages and we are living in harmony. How can anyone say things are not better if even...(survivor) can greet...(perpetrator) and does not even report him (to police to be arrested) when he comes to the village? We know how to manage ourselves and we are not small children to be told what to do. People here are peaceful and the violence has been put behind us now. Most people are talking to each other. What is remaining is to eat together and I think they will begin eating together soon’ (*interview, 3rd April 2004*).

Another aspect that should not be ignored is the role of circumcision in conflict and how this can be transformed into peace. During the circumcision ceremonies among the Bagisu, young men are ‘educated’ and encouraged in all respects to be un-fearful, brave, tough and protect their families and clans so as to be real men. The male autonomy, independence and resourcefulness are stressed to the candidates. Less brave men are considered less masculine and regarded to be like women; weak and dependant. No man in the area wishes to be regarded as a woman, since womanhood comes with many disadvantages including total subordination to all circumcised men including ones own sons once they are of age. Men usually swear using *ninjillalundi* (*to get circumcised again*); signifying the importance of circumcision and masculinity.

Since men go through torture, mockery and great pain to achieve accepted manhood, they regard violent masculinity as a sign of honour and maturity. Changing the mode

and pattern of what is inculcated into the minds of young men at the initiation stage could be very important in peace development and promotion of a culture of care as opposed to revenge and violence. It is the male clan leaders and youths who could be targeted through peace mobilisations and campaigns. Young men would then be trained and encouraged for example to find other means of survival other than dependency on land for peace. Emphasis on strengthening kinship spirit by the elders during the initiation process is vital; intra-communal violence would be discouraged.

Targeting the community is thought to be a possible way of bringing about peace in the area according to Mr. Kimono and Ms Kharono thinks otherwise:

‘...support widows. This is no longer there. Orphans could get a chance to go to school freely. Government is the cause of conflicts. For example we have been dismissed from the forest yet it is where we get food and other things from (medicines, firewood etc), people lack land for digging, grazing and have ended up stealing. The youth have no work to do here...the LCs are not uniting us as clan leaders were doing...Preachers instead of uniting people end up abusing each other. The government should help us because our children need work. It (government) should deploy soldiers to protect us. The drunkards should be imprisoned because they cause more problems. The government has not helped us reduce drunkenness that is beginning early here, and the police have been even refused to deal with the under age. The law is defending them (criminals). No one will give us peace except the government...’ (*interview, 14th January 2004*).

All in all, the social fabric that was torn apart during the violence is yet to be knit together and real peace is yet to be restored in this community. Despite this, the testimonies of even those who were so aggrieved during the violence show that they are yearning and desiring the return of real peace in their shattered communities, yet none is strong enough or motivated to take the first step in this direction. This calls for external interventions by the government or NGOs to help bring about sustainable peace and development.

7.1: 8 Justice System

The judicial interventions should always aim at helping parties reach a binding settlement for sustainable peace (Bilder, 1997; Heintze, 2002). There is real need to promote alternative means of justice to those who may not access the formal justice system in the short run as the formal structures struggle to improve its efficiency and effectiveness. Justice restoration and strengthening is vital in peacebuilding and violence deterrence and needs to be considered when dealing with sustainable peace initiatives in a post conflict situation in Mbale. Ms Kainza said that peace had not returned because:

‘witches do not want anyone to develop and when they were taken to police, they were released because there are no strong laws condemning this act. People are still angered that those who have caused a lot of suffering in the villages are the ones being protected by government. The good people were instead convicted in the high court and are waiting for the president either to allow them to live or be killed. Do you think the courts are fair at all? I think they are just a waste of time and money. People are not happy, they have not forgotten what happened’ (*interview, 19th January 2004*).

Mr. Katenya a magistrate said that:

‘peace and reconciliation are very important to the courts. We encourage people to solve conflicts outside court as much as possible except when it is a capital offence. We are planning mediation centres in future and the good news is that government has started recruiting more judges to make courts run better. I have already told you that the Bagisu are difficult people, so it will take time for them to fully reconcile, so let us remain hopeful that they will continue to quarrel but will not one day wake up to do what they did last time... we in the courts want to see people reconciled, and when they do, we shall not have so many in court and our work will be made easier’ (*interview, 16th January 2004*).

Improving the judicial structures and systems in handling intra communal disagreements and conflicts is necessary since one of the reasons for violence eruption in the area was the loss of faith and general disregard for the justice system to handle salient social conflicts such as witchcraft related offences. The courts could search for local partners such as the police and local leaders and promote working links. This

will require training for those who will be entrusted with powers to manage these alternative means of justice, and recognition by the judicial systems in case referrals are needed in the course of their work. The state and NGOs should therefore fully support this for equity to justice by all. The justice systems have real problems that require internal restructuring as well as external support and more facilitation. Constant evaluation of the sector is also required to identify salient problems that are rendering it to be perceived less effective in handling justice and the commitment or desire to addressing such problems will help improve the service quality of the system, and this will aid in promoting peace and development in return.

The police and other security organs for example require facilitation to better the procedures and methods of investigation so as to make the populace gain confidence and even be sure that culprits can be got and reprimanded accordingly. Response time to crisis need real improvement if peace is to be sustained, and there is a need for more training in handling violence and riots in remote areas of Mbale. Managing the violence during 1995-96 was incapacitated greatly by inaccessibility to the remote areas among others. Therefore, restoring and improving community road access and other means of communication like the telephone, emails/computer/satellite networks are necessary for conflict management and durable peace in remote Mbale.

7.2.1 Conclusion

Therefore, the real test to any efforts in establishing permanent peace in Mbale cannot come until lasting peace-building strategies are engineered in the daily lives of every individual in this community. A multi layered strategy of conflict management and sustainable building needs to be instilled at different levels of society through planning and policy, be fully supported and constantly evaluated by the leadership if it

is to be sustained. There is thus need for swifter interventions by the leadership to address the existing inequities due to different forms of marginalisation and inefficiencies in the existing structures, so as to pave way for the people to involve themselves in more meaningful and productive lives, minimise envy and desperation, and allow them to own the peace-building process so as to live more harmonious and peaceful lives.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1:1 Conclusions

The Ugandan countryside is a place of widespread poverty, deprivation and endemic violence. The poverty eradication plan [PEAP], 2004/05 highlights the social and human development realities and challenges. The report specifies how government could address pertinent issues of widespread poverty for national development. In Uganda, violence management strategies are usually ad hoc conflict resolution affairs, as opposed to conflict management for sustainable peace and development. The gendered analysis of the Mbale violence was a necessary shift from traditional ways of analysing conflicts for sustainable peace and sustainable development.

This study shows the relationship between masculinity, scarcity and violence, and how this is closely linked to questions of conflict management for sustainable peace and development for the Mbale situation. Scarcity hinders existing institutions from effectively managing conflicts in the area. Thus, scarcity and violent masculinity sustained conditions of violence in Mbale. Peace in this area could therefore be sustained only if structures to enable equitable access to resources are initiated and strengthened at all levels. And for this, the questions of scarcity and violent masculinities ought to be understood and addressed.

I discovered the attacks on the 'witches' were a symptom of something deeper, a question of structural forms of inequalities and the endemic violence of poverty in this region, reflected in a general resource scarcity. Scarcities, coupled with masculine violence embedded in the Gishu culture (manifested in circumcision rituals and practices), promote tendencies of autonomous masculinity, material acquisition and independence which are the bedrock of violence. When promises remain unactualised

because of general scarcity, it gives way to envy, hatred, revenge, pride and laziness, which precipitate violence as well as complicate conflict management and peace building initiatives in the community.

Studying the aftermath of a violent conflict, ten years after its eruption, in a situation where the marks of hurt and anger are still all-too-visible, required a flexible approach. A qualitative gendered analysis of conflict and its management enabled due respect to be given to all parties views in and of the conflict. In fact, the Mbale conflict was complex, with varied influences important for different situational cases, and cannot therefore be regarded as solely a problem of violent youth or of witchcraft. The problem of resource scarcity and inequality were important factors for the violence escalation in this community, where violent masculinity is heavily embedded in the socio-economic and political life of the people. Through the voices of various parties involved in the conflicts, including those of the police and judiciary, as well as the elders, the victims and perpetrators of the violence provided a complex and multi-layered approach to an understanding of the violence dynamics in less developed economies like Uganda's; characterised by scarcity in its various forms. This thesis also brings out the role of leadership in situations of conflict and violence. Whereas some community elders and leaders were key in instigating violence, others often helped to stop it.

The thesis emphasises that it is unwise to construct conflict management strategies according to a single cause or party, without due respect of what other actors deem to be important causes. Likewise, addressing the belief behind violent episodes [witchcraft] without due respect to the structural problems of a socio economic and

political nature that made it possible for violence to take place and escalate, would be altogether too superficial. Any approach to conflict management should be broad-based, multi-dimensional, involving all major actors, and should understand and attempt to resolve grievances as perceived by all parties to the antagonism. Such a strategy [seen to involve the full participation of all concerned parties] is a necessary attitude for conflict management and durable peace-building.

Chapter five of the thesis discusses the legacies of the violence. For the communities that suffered, life has changed immeasurably. I heard stories of immense human suffering. It is thus apparent that peace initiatives are badly needed if this society is to regain its lost social relations or an economic and political development that could contribute to positive peace, a prerequisite for its durability. The effects of violence included loss of lives and property, displacement, gender inequities, health problems and ongoing trauma and psychosis. The study shows that many lives have been shattered. This intra-communal conflict has had a bigger and more lasting impact in areas where the intensity of the violence was higher, largely because no reconstruction or rebuilding has yet occurred.

A gendered analysis of the effects revealed distinct types of hidden disadvantage that have worsened gender relations. It was discovered that women and men suffered violence in different ways and that disadvantage was very evident and gender specific. Many women, besides being mothers, have been left almost solely to support families where men have left villages, been imprisoned, or were unemployed. Displacement has destabilised many families. Abandoned children, whose fathers had either migrated or been imprisoned, and whose mothers left home after the violence were

often being looked after by women relatives, such as aunts or grandmothers, despite the latter's unequal and woeful access to, and ownership of, land; the primary economic resource. This aggravates the problems of resource scarcity and inequality, which are precisely those that generated the violence in the first place.

My research revealed that mechanisms to effectively deal with violence were still lacking in the area, largely because of a general scarcity, but sometimes through mismanagement. In addition, law enforcement structures such as policing and the judiciary were weak because of the same or similar reasons. These institutions are also not generally perceived as impartial, but are increasingly viewed as unfair, unjust, and vulnerable to corruption. Such a perception was one common to both perpetrators and victims of the violence in our case study community. Such beliefs, coupled with the obvious failure of 'traditional' methods to resolve conflict and disputes, meant that a radical alternative had to be sought.

Trials were reportedly extremely long and drawn out affairs, with representation for those unable to afford a private advocate, grossly inadequate. Accessibility and the affordability of justice structures also pertained to the Mbale situation. The law appears to be time- and distance-bound because of the lack of resources for funding institutions. Often, those who allegedly committed crimes are in well-known places, beyond the law until victims are prepared to lodge a case and contribute towards related expenses. A large number of survivors have more pressing challenges of scarcity and deprivation that undermine their right to the enforcement of justice.

All the victims of the violence were elderly, mostly men, and active perpetrators were mostly young men between 25 and 35 years of age. There is a widely accepted view that money exchanged hands in the case of Manjiya, with the principal perpetrators being powerful men and women who were not necessarily living in the community, but whom, for various reasons, wanted some people killed. Not all women should be regarded as solely victims of the violence. In fact, some women supported the perpetrators of violence in indirect ways. Some alleged perpetrators were also victims of manipulation by the elite of their communities. None of the active perpetrators had an average income, even by rural standards, with their highest education level being primary level, excepting two cases who had completed ordinary levels.

The research also uncovered the killings as specifically designed and planned in order to discourage any form of direct evidence. Even in situations where witnesses were available, fear and intimidation was routinely used to force them to withdraw evidence in courts of law. Fear of revenge killings was a huge obstacle to the workings of justice. This made the work of the justice system difficult. The efficient operation of all these institutions is hampered by a chronic lack of funds, understaffing, underpayment, and under facilitation. This partly explains the relatively poor performance and the susceptibility to bribes and corruption within conflict management structures. This was exacerbated by the lack of clarity and consensus for the roles of the LCs and movement committees vis-à-vis other organs of government. Overlapping jurisdictions consequently result in struggles for power that makes conflict management difficult.

In a nutshell, insecurity and violence retards peace and development. My research findings showed that whilst the violence had been contained, positive peace had not yet fully returned and tensions are continuing. The continued legitimisation of the violence by some people is symptomatic of the fact that much still needs to be done in order for peace to return to the area. This attitude reflects and parallels the perceptions of many that justice has not been forthcoming, whilst for others, it reflects the fact that the lessons of violence have not been digested.

Peace creates the conditions for development, with the long terms gains being the trickle down effects that increase geometrically once a stable environment for investment and production has been inaugurated. There is still much to be done to enhance harmony and sustainable peace as a necessary imperative for overall development in the area. And for positive peace and sustainable development to be realised, a multidimensional ongoing conflict management and peace-building process is vital.

8.2 Recommendations and Policy Imperatives

The proposed socio-economic, political and judicial interventions are geared towards addressing the challenges of violent masculinity and scarcity for effective conflict management, sustainable peace and development.

8.2: 1 Judicial Interventions

An independent and thorough review is prerequisite for grappling with the legacy of the out-dated law of witchcraft that is an inheritance from colonial times. The law of witchcraft is riddled with contradictions. The judgment as to which acts are attributable to witchcraft leaves the door open for conflicts in areas where witchcraft

plays a key role in the belief systems and social lives of so many people. Such a law can scapegoat marginal peoples, who are subsequently stigmatised, prejudicially branded, and targeted as witches. The law on witchcraft thus needs urgent attention in order that it is made to conform to basic standards of human rights.

Radical changes in the way cases are handled at the grass roots level are required. There is a need to integrate modern and local methods of conflict resolution, management and peace restoration in the judicial system as the sine qua non for the effective management of conflicts and for a sustainable peace. Courts should thus be flexible towards alternative means of resolving conflicts justly, and governments should ensure that even the poor are represented by a qualified solicitor in order that the 'language' of justice is accessible to all.

The law also needs to be clear on how it deals with perpetrators who are not yet apologetic, so as to protect their victims from another cycle of violence being perpetuated against them, and promote justice for all. Without such measures, the poor will be denied access as well as their rights to effective justice, which is their inalienable and basic human right. The fact that courts are distant from the people, expensive, slow and very bureaucratic, adds insult to injury, especially for a predominantly rural population. rural people.

The current trend towards impunity (of some people in the community) needs to be replaced by the practice of accountability and justice for all if faith is to be restored in the judicial and in the entire justice system. This will encourage the masses to report acts of violence in the future. It will also deter future violence and other forms of

crime, and help promote and sustain peace and development. Efforts need to be directed towards restoring confidence in government institutional structures. And since many participants who worked in institutions reported operational constraints of resource scarcity as a major factor impeding their effective work, the problem is urgent. Facilitation of such structures is an urgent policy priority. Issues like under payment and general motivation, understaffing and inadequate facilities for responding to situations of crises, need to be looked into critically by responsible government departments, if effective conflict management and sustainable peace are to replace the current reactive, ad hoc and less effective response to emergencies.

Efforts need to be made to reduce court bureaucracy and speed up the provision of highly-demanded professional services and culturally sensitive courts at lower levels. The restoration of transparent and accountable leadership in these communities will help even the very poor who are disproportionately vulnerable to different forms of violence, including the perceived injustice of seeking retribution. And those who benefit from such violence may become more conscious and accountable for their actions, which may also act as a deterrent.

There is a real need to promote alternative means of justice for those whose present inaccessibility to it, whilst formal structures await their effective restructuring, is compromised. The courts have to work with local partners, such as the police and local leaders, and promote working links. This will require training for those entrusted with power, so that they are able to manage these alternative means of justice and recognise the apposite systems, in case referrals are needed in the course of their work. The state and NGOs need to fully support such measures for equity to ensue. The

justice systems have real problems that require internal restructuring as well as external support and more facilitation. A constant evaluation of the sector is also required in order to identify salient problems that render it less effective in people's perception of its standard of justice. Hence, the commitment or desire to address such problems, improves the service quality delivery, which in turn, aids the promotion of peace and development. The police and other security organs, for example, require aid in improving their procedures and methods of investigation, so as to encourage confidence in the population that culprits will be brought to book. The response time to crises must also be improved, together with better training for handling violence and riots in remote areas. The management of violence has been incapacitated by a greater inaccessibility to remote areas, amongst other reasons. Restoring and improving community road access and other means of communication like telephone services, emails/computer/satellite network, is necessary in the long run for a durable peace.

8.2: 2 Political Interventions

The government's ethical responsibility lies in constructing an effective plan for managing conflicts, deterring violence and promoting peace. This plan should include realistic and sustainable policy interventions, which are gender sensitive, involving the grassroots. Through building viable institutions and revitalising existing ones, justice is indirectly rebuilt and empowered, as these primary agents for peace building permit development to thrive. The government, together with the business private community and NGOs, can sponsor peace advocacy programmes because their shared concern is with a stable environment.

Responsible government departments have a role in equipping, facilitating and motivating their respective departments, including those custodians of the justice system in the area, to play a leading role in peace building, rather than merely waiting for violence to occur, for its management. One way to this end is the building of strong legal and justice structures. This necessitates building strong infrastructures to support socio-economic and political interventions in this area. The government needs to empower people by providing electricity, better roads and other communication networks to ease information transfer and the dissemination of good practice for positive social change and development.

Regular assessment and the evaluation of leaders is also necessary. While local councils should have a greater role in providing leadership for day-to-day activities, a monitoring mechanism needs to be put in place so as to constantly check their activities. This, because it was found that some local council officials connived with criminals for various reasons, including blood money or even to secure votes during the violent conflict. This meant that custodians of the community's law and justice were instead abusing both the system and the people it was their duty to protect. The power struggles between chiefs, LCs, movement leaders, the police and other state security organs needs to be sorted out, and streamlined for effective management of community justice and conflict prevention in the future. Relevant government departments should thus work out modalities, in order to enable cooperation between leaders, rather than competition over power and authority.

The revival of moral order is possible, despite the deep-rootedness of corruptive practice in the area. Corruption has a big social cost for justice and is a hindrance to

equity, social justice, sustainable peace and development. The government needs to support anti-corruption laws at all levels, not least as a deterrent.

Empowerment through knowledge and good health are essential. Both national education and health policy need to provide a pertinent education and literacy, for better hygiene, sanitation and positive living, vital aspects for an overall health improvement through the conscious prevention of diseases. This will reduce the incidences of sickness that affect school attendances for the young and that undermine the productivity of adults. Better education makes people more innovative and more productive. Education will help to question the deep-rooted beliefs amongst people. It will also help people devise new production techniques and search for new scientific methods in farming, for example.

A government's remit must surely also include the promotion of market stability, both by encouraging commercial farming through its investment in agricultural research, and to ease access to markets through its policy measures, which should also address resource scarcity and allocation problems. Government overall policy should thereby aim at empowering people to be self reliant through the promotion of creativity and encouraging the active participation of the people in productive ventures geared towards wealth creation, poverty eradication and equity.

Both educational policy and the system need to actively reinforce the importance of peace and empowerment education for positive socio-cultural change, especially amongst the most vulnerable community members, namely, the women. Government policy should ensure that the national gender policy aimed at addressing gender

disparities, and empowering women and girls, should be effected, and that such policy yields actual results at grass-root levels. Education policy should also work to change the attitude to violent masculinity, and transform conflicts into a productive competition that is naturally owned and integrated in the communities.

The government needs to re-evaluate its disaster preparedness policy and implementation. Research and crisis response efforts for durable peace should initiate warning mechanisms able to pick up signals for likely tensions in communities and act on them. Responses to emergencies should be improved and accorded the priority they deserve so as to prevent future causalities and related damages.

The people in this community continue to look to the state to solve their problems. Few talked about how they could help themselves, underlining the need for sensitisation towards future conflict management and the chance of a sustainable peace that incorporates self-help initiatives. A multi-layered strategy of conflict management and peace-building needs to be instilled at different levels of society through planning and policy. This should be fully supported and constantly evaluated by the leadership if it is to have any chance of success. There is a real need for swifter interventions by the leadership, addressing existing inequities due to different forms of marginalisation and inefficiencies and scarcities in the existing structures, so as to encourage people's involvement in more meaningful and productive lives, minimise envy and address desperation, and allow them to own the peace-building process in which they acknowledge their futures. This could be reinforced through social structures such as schools, religious centres and cultural institutions. Modern justice

and security structures and the media should also not be underestimated as powerful conduits for sustainable development.

The current practice of managing violence, as instantiated in Mbale, should be replaced by a longer term view that incorporates sustainable peace and development for the community. Thus, structures that aim at resolving conflicts as they emerge need to be established and be fully equipped to facilitate conflict management so as to avoid a situation where conflicts build upon anger and encourage the harbouring of grudges, which may spark off another violent situation in the post conflict period.

8.2: 3 Social Interventions

Building, maintaining and strengthening existing local social networks, like women's and youth groups, is important for encouraging sustainable peace and development. Religious and other leaders can act locally to promote the forgiveness that allows for reconciliation and minimises revenge tendencies. There is also a need to encourage NGOs and other civil society groups to initiate, incorporate and promote peace in all their programmes. And for healing to take place, mediation and counselling services demand urgent consideration.

Policy initiatives should also incorporate the practical training of witchdoctors in conflict prevention and peace sustainability measures. Since religious leaders and witchdoctors play a significant role in the spiritual lives of the people in the area, and in the absence of professional counsellors in this highly depleted social sector, the pair could be empowered to foster peace efforts at the individual as well as the inter-personal level. The incorporation of these local mechanisms of conflict management acts as a prophylactic against escalation, and as a balm for existing grievances.

Efforts should also be directed towards exchange programmes between groups in order to facilitate social interactions and a better understanding through networks and friendships. The establishment of informal and non official communication amongst the people provides a basis for bridging understanding and tolerance, and provides room for parties in conflict to understand and appreciate the other's concerns, worries and opinions, thereby reducing the gossip, mistrust and hearsay which played such a large part in fuelling the conflict in Mbale and elsewhere. Future cooperation depends upon it.

Educational institutions, religious bodies and NGOs can all play a role in the campaign for peace and reconciliation. Peace education can be promoted through formal institutions, as well as through civic, non formal or informal networks. Both are crucial for addressing the deep rooted attitudes, beliefs and cultures of violence and changing the hearts of protagonists. It is further necessary to actively involve the media, NGOs, religious organisations and the business community in peace advocacy, either in formal or informal settings. These institutions can actively campaign for conflict prevention, attitude change, and peace and reconciliation. Such a role should not be underestimated. The local leadership, through the cultural leaders' council at the district level, should target and enhance cultural institutions in addressing the sources of violence in this area.

The traditional leadership's support of peaceful cultures and traditions is thus very important. Targeting cultural beliefs, such as those that attend circumcision, in order to preach peace, hard work and resourcefulness is useful. Musicians could sing and

praise patience, hard-work, respect and unity, and castigate pride, envy, aggression and laziness during such ceremonies. This would constitute a concerted and united front for shifting and transforming the nature of the circumcision ceremony, so that the present aggressive masculinity is transformed into a masculinity that celebrates peace and development. Sensitisation and empowerment is important, as well as the rehabilitation of offenders, for the promotion of durable peace in this area. Policy makers and planners could support the current initiatives by the ministry of education and sports to incorporate peace education in the curriculum at primary levels. This could be enlarged to include professional training in conflict management and peace at teacher training colleges and higher education institutions of learning.

The media can actively support conflict prevention through the promulgation of propaganda and its commitment to peace, rather than simply reporting violence as and when it occurs. There is a real chance that the media could create a heightened awareness because of their wide-ranging access to populations, especially in rural regions. Such commitments may not necessarily be profitable for media companies in the short-term, but their long term affects is surely a price worth underwriting.

Another important issue for sustainable peace and development concerns the targeting of gender roles and responsibilities. Socialisation processes aimed at improving and encouraging changes in the way women are treated in this area will invest women with the courage and confidence to find their voice for what happens in their community. The women, as primary custodians of children in the area, could encourage and promote a culture for resolving disputes that was antithetical to male aggression and violence. Laws promoting women's equality need to be reinforced and

women's rights nurtured so as to educate both men and women at the grass roots level. Teaching local women assertive skills may well be a powerful step towards their empowerment and development, which, this thesis argues, is a necessary step towards a stable Ugandan future.

Since almost all of the people in the area belong to a religious group, religious leaders and centres could be empowered to promote sustainable peace. Policy makers should not ignore the leaders of the major religious groups, who must be sensitised so as to encourage and promote those tendencies towards reconciliation that already exist in their respective faiths. The Uganda Joint Religious Council might provide a viable network through which religious social networks for peace could be channelled to the grassroots.

Whilst economic conditions may not warrant the setting up of independent centres, social units could be established within already existing structures and institutions to offer psychological support and care to the survivors, such as might be put into place at hospitals and health units, and at places of worship and schools. Here, individuals amongst existing staff could be identified as capable of being trained to provide the basic support and make appropriate referrals where required. An improved medical service delivery, as well as the strengthening of community health services would be a step in this direction.

Above all, the support structures for survivors of violence are important. The training of trainers, well-able to comprehend the importance of survival, together with socio-psychological support structures in all existing social centres like hospitals, schools

and religious centres, is necessary. Health departments could be brought on board to improve the delivery of services in handling the stressed and traumatised, as a complement to family support in this area.

8.2: 4 Economic Interventions

Economic empowerment is urgently needed in the area. The diversification of the present poverty alleviation strategies, which would discourage those who presently find the opportunity in violence to loot, needs to be undertaken. The diversification of sources of income would also make people less dependent on traditional ways of earning a living, and help them fight poverty and depreciating conditions. Economic power enables choices over scarcity and encourages a favourable milieu for the negotiation of political and social relations, which is a significant consideration for peace and development in an area where scarcity bred envy, jealousy, suspicion and violence against others who were better off, and thus accused of causing death, poor harvests and unemployment through their witchcraft. The rejuvenation and revival of cooperative societies and networking will improve the bargaining position of the poor in the market place, increase their income base, reduce inequality and provide employment.

Employment is a huge problem for the area, so that the creation of jobs is an essential counterweight for offsetting the present effects of unemployment and redundancy. Establishing and reviving the industrial sector at the district level, together with the modernisation of the agricultural sector so as to increase output from scarce land resources, will improve the quality of life and help in sustainable development. This will result in an increased productivity, reduce redundancy, deprivation and improve

peoples' lives, with the trickle down effects of development contributing to peace initiatives.

Encouraging migration and resettlement could be a means of reducing the pressure on limited land resources in the area. This is an important consideration because of the importance of land shortage in fuelling tensions and violence in this community, and because of its continuing importance as a potential source of future tensions. Farming methods, for example, could be modernised so as to make the dependence on land less intense and increase productivity. The department of agriculture and forestry can put in place strategies for addressing questions of land distribution and productivity. Redundancy, as we have discovered, breeds lawlessness. If this is done, then the vicious cycle of helplessness, dependency and violent masculinity will give way to sustained development and peace.

With privatisation, some important sectors deemed to be less profitable have collapsed, despite their importance for community development. The private sectors and government need a system of mutual support so as to revive less profitable yet basic institutions for improving social services delivery and general welfare. In the long run, this could save money that could be reinvested in violence prevention and management for the community. The IMF and World Bank initiatives of deploying civil servants and emphasising privatisation needs to be re-evaluated, because it appears to have aggravated poverty and legitimised corruption and nepotism, rendering the masses helpless and highly marginalized. Basic social services sectors should not be left entirely to the vagaries of the private sector, where any sense of social responsibility has not yet been realised.

The critical importance of land, as revealed in the research, demands that land policies be re-evaluated and reoriented towards addressing the problems of landlessness and land fragmentation. There is an urgent need for helping people improve farming methods and encouraging alternative means of generating income so as to reduce sole dependency on land. This, further, demands alternative options for survival. In addition, the resettlement scheme needs to be revisited, with real incentives for those willing to resettle put in place.

Policy makers thus need to be clear, consistent, and well informed about the relevance of scarcity, violent masculinity and the dynamics of violence, whilst all the while remaining aware that peace is a prerequisite to overall development and that poverty is a form of violence. The greater the ability to respond to meeting the basic needs of the poor, the more the chances that violence in its different forms will reduce, conflicts become more easily managed and sustainable peace be achievable for the area. The prerequisites to a durable peace are thus sustained structural enforcements that address the salient issues creating tensions in the form of rivalry, frustrations and anger. The building of viable institutions, and the revitalisation, rebuilding, or empowerment of those that already exist is thus inextricably bound to the challenges of violent masculinity, scarce resources and conflict management.

8.3 Suggestions for Further Research

I plan to focus future research work on specific institutional mechanisms that could be put in place to support gender equity and sustainable development. I will thus be looking in particular at mechanisms that involve the greater participation of women in processes and institutions that promote equity and good governance in public and

private institutions. I also suggest that other viable areas requiring further research include:

- The role of music in the contemporary Gishu culture, and its effects in creating a culture of an aggressive masculinity.
- The dynamics of witchcraft and sorcery in modern Ugandan business society.
- The role of the Pentecostal churches in conflict and peace building.
- The liberation policy and conflict exacerbation in Uganda.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Key Participants whose voices are reflected in the study

Galenda: witness of violence, experienced sexual violence; 23rd Nov. 2003

Gamisha: a local council leader; interviewed on 23rd Nov. 2003

Gidima: an elder and civic leader; interviewed 17th Dec. 2003

Gidongo: an elder and witness; interviewed on 17th Dec 2003

Gidudu: victimised/civic leader/witness interviewed on 13th Dec 2003, and 16th Dec 2003

Gotsowa : witness/survivor of the violence; interviewed 16th Dec. 2003

Guloba: a civic leader and witness; interviewed 12th Dec 2003

Kaato: a journalist and witness of the violence; interviewed 24th March 2004

Kainza: Sympathiser of perpetrators, victim of witchcraft acts on 19th January 2004

Kakayi: a housewife and witnessed the violence; interviewed 26th Feb 2004

Kalenda: a community leader; 3rd Feb. 2003

Kalibo; works with state Attorney's office; interviewed 7th January 2004

Kamali: a survivor/leader; interviewed on 12th March 2004 and 1st April 2004

Kamoti: senior prisons officer; interviewed 8th January 2004

Katenya: a magistrate at high court; interviewed 16th January 2004

Katisi: relative of some of the alleged perpetrators and victims; interviewed 2nd Feb. 2004

Kharono: a victim of the violence; interviewed 14th January 2004

Kibeti: an alleged perpetrator of the violence; interviewed 18th Feb 2004

Kibone: widow/sympathiser of perpetrators; interviewed 9th January 2004 and 21st January 2004

Kimanayi and wife: displaced survivors of the violence; interviewed 3rd March 2004

Kimbo: a victim; interviewed on 16th Feb 2004

Kimono: a police officer; interviewed 1st March 2004

Kisibo; a victim of the violence; interviewed 3rd Feb 2004

Kitongo; an alleged perpetrator; interviewed 2nd March 2004

Kitutu; alleged perpetrator; interviewed 19th Feb 2004

Kotakyi: witness/ allegedly participated by was retrained by his father; 4th April 2004

Kundu: attended planning meetings for the violence and kept minutes, migrated due to the violence and sympathiser of the perpetrators; interview 22nd Feb 2004, and 5th March 2004

Kuloba: an LCV councillor and represented official government view on the violence; 26th Feb 2004

Kunikina: a police officer/LDU; interviewed 23rd March 2004

Kusolo: a civil servant at council office (LC.V); interviewed 19th and 20th January 2004

Kwagwa: a prisons officer; interviewed 27th Feb. 2004

Masaba: a victim of the violence; interviewed 16th Dec. 2003

Appendix II: Reported Homicide Cases at Mbale Central Police station

	1995		1996		1997	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
January	04	01	30	01	14	08
February	05	04	05	00	10	05
March	10	09	05	00	10	09
April	12	12	02	02	08	06
May	09	08	04	04	15	13
June	04	04	05	04	11	09
July	03	03	07	06	08	06
August	05	05	08	07	03	03
September	05	05	08	07	07	08
October	05	05	09	05	11	09
November	04	04	08	13	11	10
December	06	06	11	03	06	07

Key

M: Male suspect

F: Female suspect

In 1996, 99 cases were reported, of which 66 were taken to court, of all these, two cases someone was convicted, 3 acquitted and 61 remained in the court (unresolved),

and 4 cases of attempted murder were reported then, 3 taken to court, 1 convicted and 5 remained in courts of law. 57 cases of aggravated assaults were reported during the same period, 54 taken to court, 3 men were convicted. There were 59 violent related arrests, 57 men and 2 women of which 2 were acquitted from courts.

In 1997, 107 murder cases were reported, 30 cases taken to court, 57 arrests were made; 56 men and 1 woman, and all cases were pending inquiry at the time police compiled the statistics. 11 cases of attempted murder were reported, 08 taken to court, and 11 arrests were made, 10 men and 1 woman. There were 33 aggravated assault cases, 27 were taken to court, 27 arrests were made; 25 men and 2 women, and 5 men and 1 woman was convicted.

In 1998, 99 cases of murder were reported, 20 were taken to court, 27 arrests were made (all men), and 12 cases of attempted murder reported, 4 taken to court, 4 men were arrested. Two cases of manslaughter were reported, 2 taken to court, 2 men suspects were arrested. 19 Cases of aggravated assaults were reported, 14 taken to court, 14 men and 2 women arrests made, and 2 men and one woman convicted.

NB. No records were available for the years 1994 and 1998 at the time of the research.

Source: Courtesy of Mbale Central Police Station, Records Section

Appendix III: Photographs depicting the site of fieldwork in Mbale, Uganda



Photo 1: Fertile soils on the slopes of Mount Wanale



Photo 2: Mbale District's mountainous Bulucheke



Photo 3: Crop rotation and intercropping in Bungokho County



Photo 4: Ox plough working half an acre



Photo 5: School children in Bushika



Photo 6: Children playing in the compound of Mulasti Primary School



Photo 7: Bushika women walking to market on a Monday



Photo 8: Deforested mountain tops of Bubita causing soil erosion and landslides



Photo 9: Changing gender roles: a husband chats to a male friend while his wife sells bananas, avocados and roasted nuts for family income in Kikhololo trading centre



Photo 10: Mayenze police station